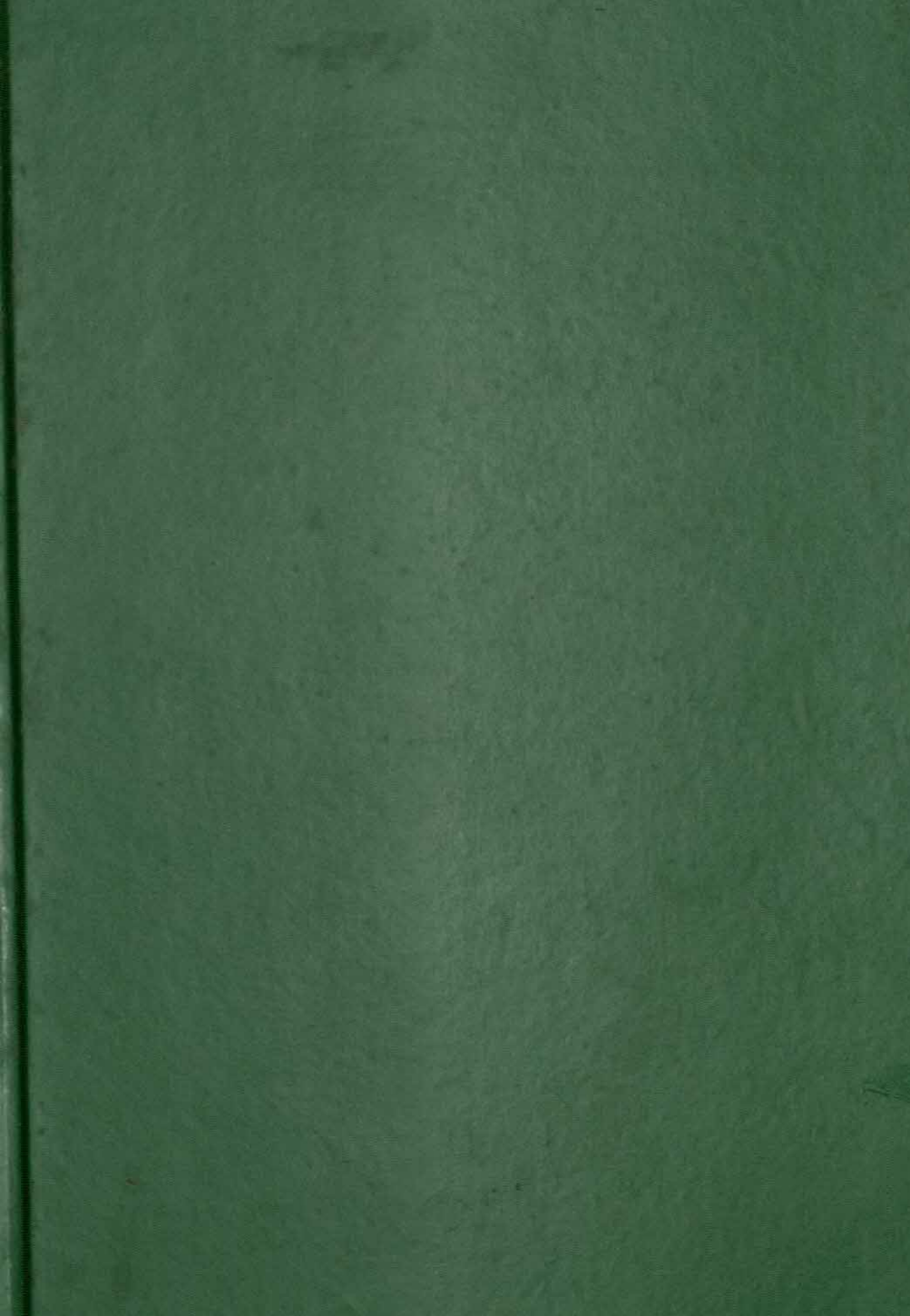




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**SOURCES OF
THE HISTORY OF INDIA**

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA

VOLUME No.—II

Edited by

S. P. SEN

Director

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES



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PREFACE

THE PRESENT VOLUME is the second in the series 'Sources of the History of India', the first having been published in April, 1978. It is part of a multi-volumed Project, proposed to be completed in another six years, covering the entire Indian subcontinent and all the three periods of history—ancient, medieval and modern. The first volume, covering Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Goa, was very well-received in academic circles. It is considered as an invaluable reference work for all research workers and advanced students of history. Every University and College Library has deemed it necessary to have this volume in its prized collection. We do hope that the second volume, covering five States, Rajasthan, Haryana, Meghalaya, Uttar Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir, will also be equally well-received in academic circles, and the whole series when completed will fill up a great void in Indian historiography.

Although serious researches in Indian history had started from the second half of the nineteenth century and considerable progress had been made during the last hundred years or more, there had been no attempt made so far in collecting the available source material in different Indian and foreign languages and preserved in different parts of the country. Nor had any attempt been made to ascertain the extent to which the available source material had been utilised by historians and the gaps that still remain to be filled up. Our primary objective in undertaking this multi-volumed Project is to help advanced students of history, researchers and teachers in getting to know the wealth of historical source material lying scattered in different parts of the country and in different languages.

In the context of our historical studies during the last one hundred years the time has come to make a comprehensive compilation of the available source material of all kinds—archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, written records, etc.—which will help the historians to reconstruct the past, and to ascertain the extent

to which this reconstruction had been achieved, the fields that still remain uncovered and the source material still remaining unutilised. It is in the nature of a stock-taking of the progress already made and of the path that still lies ahead. The present Project is a pioneer venture, and it is to be hoped that it will serve its main objective as a path-finder to the present and future generations of historians.

India is a vast country and a land of diversity—ethnological, cultural, religious, regional and linguistic. For a proper study and reconstruction of Indian history a central or all-India approach will be quite useless and superficial. The basic approach should be regional, at least from the point of view of the source material available. Indian society is not monolithic in the same sense as many other societies in the world. No doubt India is in the broadest sense one country and Indians have many things in common. But it would be quite unrealistic for a historian to ignore the regional diversities. So far as India is concerned, national history can be reconstructed only through a regional approach and on the basis of regional diversity. This is the approach we have followed in planning the multi-volumed Project of source material for the history of India.

Since our Sixth Annual Conference held at Srinagar (Kashmir) in 1968 we have always followed the practice of having as the second theme of papers and discussion 'Sources of the History' of the particular State in which the Annual Conference was held. On this theme we accepted papers covering all the three periods of Indian history, ancient, medieval and modern. So far we have covered eleven different States or regions and have published papers on nine States in volumes I and II. In the normal course it would take us another ten years to complete the remaining States. But in view of the eagerness with which all research workers and advanced students of history, not only in India but also in all foreign countries where Indian studies are encouraged, are waiting for the completion of the Project, we have decided to change our schedule and to bring out the remaining volumes in the next six years. Those who have experience of executing a large-scale all-India Project of this kind will surely appreciate the efforts and time

involved and will consider it a great achievement on our part if we can complete the Project in another six years.

In order to make an exhaustive study of the source material available in any region or State and in different languages and also to ensure uniformity of treatment of the subject, we had laid down a broad pattern for the writers to follow. The pattern is given below for the information of our readers and to enable them to follow more intelligently each of the papers included in the volume irrespective of the region or period covered.

- I. Nature of source material in general.
- II. Classification of source material.
- III. A critical review of the extent and dependability of the different categories of source material.
- IV. The extent to which the source material has been utilised by historians and the fields which remain to be covered.
- V. Any problem or difficulty in using the source material.

The pattern, as given above, will bring out clearly the exhaustive nature of study aimed at in our present Project and the way in which the Project is intended to help future research workers. Our study is not only in the nature of a stock-taking of what has been achieved already but also in the nature of an indication to future research workers about the fields which remain uncovered and the source material still remaining unutilised.

While outlining the main objective of our study as given above, we do not, however, claim that all the papers included in the present volume, covering five States, Rajasthan, Haryana, Meghalaya, Uttar Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir, fully conform to the set pattern. Some of them have closely followed the set pattern while some others have deviated from the pattern and are merely compilations of source material without any critical examination of their comparative importance and dependability. This shortcoming, however, readers should understand, is inherent in a co-operative Project where rigid uniformity of approach and treatment cannot be enforced. On the whole, however, most of the papers have kept close to the set pattern laid down by us, thus fulfilling the main objective of the Project.

Another shortcoming that will strike the readers is that in some cases the papers included do not make an exhaustive study of the subject relating to any particular period. There are still several gaps for which additional papers should have been included. We are quite conscious of this shortcoming, but we can only offer in explanation the hard fact that in spite of our best efforts we could not secure the additional papers necessary to round off our study. We, no doubt, waited sufficiently long for these papers, but in the end we had to decide between waiting indefinitely and publishing the papers we could get without further delay. This again is an unfortunate but unavoidable difficulty in a co-operative Project and we hope our readers will appreciate the point.

A third shortcoming that is obvious to readers is the fact that the States selected for inclusion in each volume do not belong to one contiguous geographical area and do not have, therefore, much similarity in historical development. We do admit that it would have been certainly better if we could have taken four or five States in one contiguous geographical region with a common historical development for each volume of the series. But one should appreciate that our Project is linked with our Annual Conferences which are held in different States far off from one another and hardly ever belonging to one contiguous geographical area. Had we been able to schedule our Annual Conferences according to geographical contiguity of different States we could have avoided this obvious flaw in our Project. But that is not possible for practical considerations. Anyway, we may point out here that our study of each State is a self-contained unit and its academic value is not in the least detracted on the ground that the next State included for study in the volume is from an entirely different geographical area and consequently with a different historical development. Therefore, the order in which the States are arranged in the different volumes of the present Project should not be faulted as bad editorship and considered as a substantial point against the academic value of the whole Project. Possibly, in the next edition of all the volumes of the Project we shall adopt a more rational policy about distribution of studies on different States in each volume and shall follow the principle

of geographical contiguity and similarity of historical development.

In spite of the shortcomings noted above, we do feel that the present Project will go a long way in filling up a great void in Indian historiography. When the Project is completed covering all the States and regions of India, it will be deemed as the most important and valuable contribution to the compilation of source material for Indian history as a whole. It will also be valued as an assessment of the importance of each type of source material and as an indication of the source material still awaiting the attention of historians. From this point of view, the present and all the other volumes of the Project will undoubtedly be most useful to advanced students and research workers. The volumes taken together will constitute an invaluable reference work, first of its kind in India, and will be deemed as a *must* in every centre of advanced study in Indian history and for every research supervisor and research student.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Contributors of papers whose kind co-operation has rendered this publication possible. I am also thankful to Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta of the Calcutta University, Dr. Proshanto Kumar Chatterjee of the Burdwan University, and Dr. Chittabrata Palit and Dr. Amalendu De of the Jadavpur University, for their kind help in editing the papers. I also owe my thanks to Mrs. Minati Chattopadhyaya, Registrar of the Institute, for her kind help in the preparation of the volume. My thanks are, finally, due to Shri Biram Mukherjea for seeing the volume through the Press and for designing the get-up, and to Shri Tridibesh Basu of the K. P. Basu Printing Works for his personal attention in supervising the printing work.

Calcutta, 20 March, 1979

S. P. SEN

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Ancient Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT RAJASTHAN

DR. R. P. VYAS

(Jodhpur University)

THE TERRITORIAL unit known as Rajasthan¹, rhombic in shape, bounded by Pakistan, the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat, is of recent origin. In ancient times this vast area of land was divided into several sectors which were called by various names, such as Marudesa (desert area of Rajasthan), Jangaldesa (Bikaner and Nagaur area), Matsyadesa (Jaipur and a part of Alwar and most of Bharatpur), Sapadalaksa (a tract extending from Shekhawati to Ranthambhor), Sursenadesa (area covered by parts of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli), Sibidesa (adjoining area of Chitor in Mewar), Medpata (the well-known Sanskritised form of Mewad), Vagada (Dungarpur and Banswara Districts), Arbud (Sirohi and parts of Jodhpur and Palanpur), Mada (Jaisalmer area), Valla and Travani (both of these regions were adjoining to Mada), Gurjaradesa (a part of it was in Marwar), and Malavadesa (present districts of Pertabgarh, Kota, Jhalawar and a part of Tonk).²

Rajasthan has a glorious past and a rich cultural heritage. The beginning of the human history of Rajasthan goes back to the period when man first settled in this region. On the basis of roughly chipped implements discovered in the sections and terraces of water courses, which have now turned dry, it is surmised that human history in our country had begun nearly half a million years ago ; so was the case with Rajasthan. This fact has now been proved by researches carried out in the various parts of the region.³

With the beginning of the sixth century B.C. the historical evidences become a little distinct throwing light on the history of the political units which flourished in the region. Thereafter the history of the Imperial Mauryas, the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Kushanas, the Guptas, the Hunas and the Vardhanas covers, partly or wholly, the history of the region under review. From the seventh century onward the period of Rajput ascendancy commences and continues to be so till the end of the twelfth century. During this period the most important of the Rajput clans which enjoyed considerable strength and wide dominance over Rajasthan were the Pratiharas of Maru and Gurjaradesa, the Guhilas, the Paramaras and the Chauhans.

Abundant source-material found scattered all over the region throws a flood of light on the history and culture of ancient Rajasthan. This vast and varied material may broadly be classified under two heads, viz., archaeology and literature. Archaeology may further be sub-divided into inscriptions, coins, sculptures and monuments.

In the course of the archaeological explorations conducted in the valleys of various rivers like Banas, Luni, Chambal, Sagarmati, etc., and their tributaries, a large number of paleolithic type tools termed hand-axes, cleavers and flakes have been discovered. A study of the Luni basin by V. N. Mishra has revealed that it was a much wetter belt than it is at present. "The man still lived in a stone age. Flint or flint-like jasper, fossil wood and coarse intractable rock were used for comparatively smaller tools like scraper and pointed tools which were primarily meant for cutting, scraping and piercing animal hides."⁴

Microliths and megaliths discovered from various sites in Rajasthan⁵ trace back the history of the region to a remote period. The great concentration of late stone age sites lies in the Berach basin in Udaipur and Chitor districts, but they extend up to the course of the river Banas into Bhilwara, Ajmer and Tonk districts. In the east of Rajasthan there are a few sites which cover Kota and Jhalawar on the bed of Chandra-bhaga. The major part of the Chambal basin is still to be

explored. On the west of the Aravallis the known sites lie in the Luni basin, eight of them in Pali and Jodhpur districts and one in Barmer district. Raw material for tools found at the above sites consists of chert, quartzite, quartz, chalcedony, flint, shale, etc.

During this microlithic period man was still a savage, without a permanent house and vessels for drinking, cooking and storing.⁶ Further advance took a long time to come. About four thousand years ago or a bit earlier we find man making progress, both materially and intellectually, in south-eastern and north-eastern Rajasthan, which is quite evident from the excavations carried out at Ahar (Udaipur) and Gilund or Bhagwanpura in the Bhilwara district and Kalibangan in the Sarasvati-Drishadvati regions of Rajasthan. Copper implements, ornaments largely of terracotta beads, pottery and other objects like toys, jars, bowls, etc., discovered in course of the excavations at Ahar and Bhagwanpura, reveal that man was no longer a food-gatherer only, but he knew also the process of grinding of grains and baking of bread. Excavations at Kalibangan has definitely proved the existence of a flourishing civilization as old as the Harappan⁷ in north-western Rajasthan. It is surmised by some of the archaeologists that Kalibangan was the third capital of the Indus Valley Empire, other two being Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Examples of the very early architecture of Rajasthan are also found at Kalibangan.⁸ The archaeological excavations at Noh, four miles from Bharatpur, and at Bagor, twenty-five kilometers west of Bhilwara, have further thrown a flood of light on the pre-historic culture of the region during the Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods.⁹

Inscriptions have proved a source of the highest value for the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of ancient Rajasthan. The inscriptions engraved on stone and metal are free from the process of tampering and decaying which is possible in the case of books and other documents written on perishable material. Thus the value of inscriptions as contemporary documents remains undisputable. Of the large number of inscriptions discovered in Rajasthan, some are very important

indeed. They are engraved on rocks, big boulders, pillars, walls, copper plates, images, etc. These may broadly be classified under two groups—(i) those engraved by or on behalf of the ruling authority, and (ii) those engraved by or on behalf of private individuals.

Inscriptions are the main basis of our chronology. Though some of the inscriptions discovered are undated, yet their characteristic script and language help us in determining their approximate age. Inscriptions mention the name of the ruler, his dynasty and his exploits in political as well as cultural spheres. They also help us in the location of the kingdom of the ruler and determining the extent of his empire. Administrative set-up, official hierarchy, inter-state relations, relations between the suzerain and his feudatories and likewise information are available in these inscriptions.

The earliest specimens of inscriptions in Rajasthan are found on the seals discovered at Kalibangan; they are written in the Harappan script which probably used to be written from right to left. When deciphered, they would throw a flood of light on the history of the period. Earliest epigraphic records of the historic period have also been found in Rajasthan. The two inscriptions of Asoka, found at Bairat (a copy of Minor Rock Edict and the Bhabru Edict, Bhabru near Bairat) in the third century B.C., indicate his territorial jurisdiction and his interest in Buddhism.¹⁰ The Bayana (Bijayagrah) stone inscription¹¹ of V.S. 428 (A.D. 371-72) supplies a list of the rulers of the Varika tribe and describes the Pundarika sacrifice performed by Vishnuvardhana. The Gangdhara (Jhalawar district) inscription of V.S. 480 (A.D. 423) acquaints us about the Aulikara dynasty ruling from Dasapura (Mandsor) and gives information that Mayurakshaka, the minister of Visvarman, constructed a Vishnu temple.¹² It also throws light on the feudal system of the age. The two inscriptions¹³ from the Bhramara Mata Temple, one dated in V.S. 547 and the other undated, found near Chhoti Sadri, district Udaipur, reveal the existence of a royal family called Manavayani which ruled over an area about the borders between Rajasthan and Malwa.

Inscriptions of the post-Gupta period are numerous, of

which mention may be made of the following. The Chitorgarh inscription dated A.D. 713 gives four names of Mori Rajput rulers.¹⁴ A Buddhist Sanskrit inscription from Shergarh¹⁵ dated V.S. 847 mentions the genealogy of the Naga rulers. The Kaman inscription¹⁶ of the eighth century A.D. and the Bayana inscriptions of V.S. 1027¹⁷ and V.S. 1100¹⁸ give useful information regarding the history of the Surseas, ruling from the sixth century to the twelfth century A.D. over Kaman and Bayana. The Dhulev plate¹⁹ of Maharaja Bhatti, dated 73 Harsha Era (A.D. 679), and the two copper grants²⁰ discovered from Dungarpur, one dated 48 H.E. (A.D. 654) of Bhavahita and the other dated 83 H.E. (A.D. 689) of Babhata, all issued from Kishkindha, and the two Kalyanpur stone inscriptions²¹ give us information about the Guhila rulers ruling over the region during the seventh and eighth centuries. The Nagara inscription of Dhanika²² of V.S. 741 (A.D. 684) and the Chatsu inscription of Baladitya²³ of the tenth century A.D. mention that the Guhilas were ruling over them. The Samoli inscription²⁴ of the time of Siladitya dated V.S. 703 (A.D. 646), the Nagada inscription²⁵ of the period of Aparajita dated V.S. 718 (A.D. 661), the Sarnesvara inscription²⁶ of V.S. 1010 (A.D. 953) of the reign of Allata, the Ekalinga stone inscription²⁷ of V.S. 1028 (A.D. 971) of the period of Naravahana and the Atpur inscription of Saktikumara²⁸ dated V.S. 1034 (A.D. 977) supply us valuable information about the history of the Guhilas when they were ruling over Nagda and Ahar. The Mandor inscription²⁹ dated V.S. 894 (A.D. 837) of Bauka and the Kakkuka inscription³⁰ dated V.S. 918 (A.D. 861) found at Ghatiyala are very important for the history of the Pratihara ruling over Mandor, Merta and Ghatiyala. The Bijapura inscription of V.S. 1053 (A.D. 996) of Dhavala mentions the names of his predecessors ruling over Hastikundi.³¹ It also relates his exploits. From this inscription we also know about the economic condition of the period and the sale-tax levied by the ruler on various commodities sold in the market. Other important inscriptions relating to the history of the Chauhans are : (i) the Dholpur inscription of Chandamahase³² dated V.S. 898 (A.D. 842), (ii) the Harsha stone inscription³³ (Shekawati) of Vigra-

haraja II dated V.S. 1030 (A.D. 973), and (iii) the Bijolia rock inscription of Somesvara³⁴ V.S. 1226 (A.D. 1170). The Banskara plates of Bhoja³⁵ dated V.S. 1076, the Panahera inscription³⁶ of V.S. 1116, and the Arthuna inscription³⁷ of V.S. 1136 of Chamundaraja are undoubtedly important sources of the history of the Parmaras of Arthuna and Baroda. The Vasantgarh inscription of Puranpala³⁸ dated V.S. 1099 and the Abu inscription of Dharavassha dated V.S. 1220³⁹ furnish information about the Parmara rulers who ruled over Chandravati near Abu. The Jalor inscription of Visala dated V.S. 1174 and the Kiradu stone inscription throw light on the Parmaras ruling over Bhinmal, Kiradu and Jalor.⁴⁰

The inscriptions discovered in Rajasthan also throw a flood of light on the religious, social and economic conditions of the region. They inform us about the construction of temples (Jain and Brahmanical), installations of images, donations and charities. The Yupa inscriptions—Nandsa (A.D. 225) in Bhilwara district, Barnala (A.D. 227) in Jaipur district, Badva (A.D. 238-39) in Kota district, Bichpuri (A.D. 264) near Uniara in Jaipur district, etc., testify to the resurgence of Brahmanism in the area.⁴¹ There are inscriptions in profusion depicting that Jainism in Rajasthan was in a flourishing condition. There are a few inscriptions which enlighten us with the celebrations of functions and festivals in the region. In short, the epigraphic records constitute the main source of the political and cultural history of ancient Rajasthan.

Next to the inscriptions, coins are of importance, supplying valuable materials for reconstructing the history of ancient Rajasthan. Thousands of old coins have been found at various places in the region. The biggest hoard of 3075 punch-marked coins, which are the earliest coins of India, was found at Rairh,⁴² a place which is at a distance of fifty-two miles from Jaipur. These coins bear only figures, devices or symbols, sometimes there are many symbols punched at different times. These symbols convey some vague religious ideas and artistic conventions but do not supply any historical information. These symbols were stamped by the issuing authority in order to guarantee

their genuineness and value. Punch-marked coins have also been discovered at other places like Pushkar, Bairat, Nagara, Nagari, Sambhar⁴³ and Jhalrapatan. Obviously they were the ancient sites in Rajasthan. As a result of excavations, several varieties of coins of different periods have been recovered bearing names, dates, legends, etc., which add to our knowledge of the history of the region. Valuable information has been derived from the coin ages of the Kushanas,⁴⁴ Indo-Greeks,⁴⁵ Malavas,⁴⁶ Sibis,⁴⁷ Uddehikas,⁴⁸ Yaudheyas,⁴⁹ the Kshatrapas⁵⁰ and Gadhaiya coins unearthed from various sites of Rajasthan. Carlleyle had recorded from the surface at Nagar (the Uniara Thikana of Jaipur unit of Rajasthan) over 6,000 Malava coins of copper which were then 'lying scattered on the mounds, like shells on the sea-shore.' These coins supplied the information about forty chiefs of Malava tribe. One of the coins of Diomedes, the Greek ruler of Kabul, was discovered during an exploratory survey of the site Naliasar in Sambhar in 1950.⁵¹

Of the big hoards, discovered from different parts of Rajasthan, the Bayana hoard of Gupta⁵² coins is worth mentioning. Apparently a buried collection of some rich person, it proves that this region was a part and parcel of the Gupta Empire. The Sarvania hoard⁵³ proves that the southern part of Rajasthan was under the sway of the Western Kshatrapas. The coins of the Arjunayanas and the Yaudheyas, bearing the symbol of a standing bull, may well represent the bull before the *yupa* or sacrificial post. Such coins give us an idea of religious practices performed by the rulers of those days. Thus Rajasthan has supplied early coins of practically all epochs of the ancient period including punch-marked, Malava, Sibi, Indo-Greek, Indo-Sassanian, Kshatrapa, Kushana and Gupta coins which are preserved at several Museums of Rajasthan. Several Rajput dynasties also issued coins. One of the most interesting among them is a joint coin issued by Prithviraja III and Muhammad-bin-Sam.⁵⁴ Coins of the Pratiharas with suggestive figures like the Adivaraha throw light on their aspirations and their religion.

Besides coins and inscriptions, other remains of antiquarian importance, such as temples, forts, buildings, statues, sculptures,

terracottas, and pottery at different parts of Rajasthan have come to light. They have been found very useful in tracing the history and evolution of culture and art. The circular temple on the Bijak-Ki-Pahari at Bairat is probably the earliest example of the temple architecture in India. There are a few more specimens of the Gupta, later Gupta and early medieval period temples which are existing either in ruins or renovated. The temples at Mukandara pass, Charchoma and Krishna Vilas in Kota, the Harsat Mata Temple at Abaneri, the Dilwara Jain Temples at Abu, the Jain temple at Sanganer, the Sun temples at Varman, Barod and Amer, the fort at Mandor, and the temples at Osia, Kiradu, Nilkantha and Nagda are some notable examples of architectural monuments scattered all over Rajasthan.

Recent explorations and surveys undertaken by the State Department of Archaeology and Museum, Rajasthan, have brought to light some important and interesting monuments in Pali, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Nagaur, Jaisalmer and Barmer districts which are welcome additions to the galaxy of the Pratihara edifices in Rajasthan—important being Makarmandi Mata temple at Neemaj (Pali), Nakati Mata temple in the village of Jai-Bhawanipura in Jaipur, the Siva temple at Soyala (Jodhpur), the Sun temple at Deoka (Barmer), the L-shaped Baori at Choti Khatu (Nagaur), the temple of Anandpur, near Merta (Nagaur) and the like.⁵⁵

In the field of plastic art Rajasthan has yielded a rich crop. The life-size stone statue of a standing Yaksha discovered at Noh near Bharatpur is an important and one of the earliest examples of plastic art in India. It can well be compared with somewhat identical and contemporary colossal statues from Parikham, Besnagar and Patna.⁵⁶ Of the important terracottas and sculptures, one clay toy from Rairh presents a female head depicting two hair strings (*venis*) falling on her back and a turban put on her head in a traditional manner. It is very interesting to note here the use of the turban by the ladies.⁵⁷ The four standing male figures, each wearing a V-shaped necklace, and a crown and holding a water pot in the left hand represent the early essays of ancient Rajasthanis in the sculptural art ;

assignable to the Kushana period, they have been discovered at Noh. Mention may also be made of a colossal Kushana Siva Linga, near Nand, seven miles from Pushkar. Plastic remains of the Gupta period are also not inconsiderable. Of them the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur preserves two colossal red stone pillars, each measuring about thirteen feet in height and depicting various Krishna-Lila scenes, such as Krishna's lifting of the Govardhan mountain, fight with Ass, Bull and Horse demons, suppression of Kaliya Serpent, upturning of the carts, etc., in the elegant style of the Gupta period.⁵⁸ Equally important are the Jain bronzes of the post-Gupta period. One under worship in a Jain shrine at Pindawara (near Sirohi) throws much light on the art of metal casting in Rajasthan about 1,250 years ago. One of these images represents Saraswati (the goddess of learning), while another bronze of this hoard depicts a male divinity in the *kayotsarga* pose dated in the Vikrama year 744, i.e., 687 A.D.

A brief but very interesting survey of some ancient bronzes, sculptures and terracottas discovered at various ancient sites in Rajasthan, has been made by Dr. R. C. Agrawal. The whole material of this region has got an important bearing on the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanic art of the country. Nothing gives a better idea of the religious condition of ancient Rajasthan than its beautiful sculptures and bronzes.⁵⁹

Literature preserved at various places, both public and private, in Rajasthan forms a very valuable source for the historical study of ancient Rajasthan, though the aim and attitude of most writers were more literary than historical. The Vedas contain references to the rivers, like the Sarasvati and Drishadvati and the peoples like the Matsyas and the Salvas who during the Epic period resided in Rajasthan. It is also believed that the Pandavas during the period of their exile got refuge in Rajasthan. The Virata Parva of the *Mahabharata* is specially concerned with Bairat, the capital of the Matsyas. The Epics and the Puranas also provide us with some useful historical material. The *Padmapurana* enlightens us about the origin of the Pushkar. The *Srimalamahatmya*, a part of the *Skandapurana*,

gives valuable information regarding the ancient city of Bhinmal and its vicinity. It also gives a list of Indian states which includes. Sakambhara-Sapadalaksha, Mewar-Sapadalaksha, Tomara-Sapadalaksha, Vaguri 88 thousand, Sivadesa 10 thousand and Bhadra 10 thousand. From the *Vamanapurana*, we know about the existence of several holy places in the Sarasvati-Drishadvati Valley at the time of its composition.

Some of the people living in the region under review were known to Panini. Patanjali in his great commentary (*Mahabhashya*) on the Ashtadhyayi mentions about the Yavana attack on Madhyamika (a town near Chitor) within his living memory.⁶⁰

The traditions preserved in the Vedas, the Epics and the Puranas thus form the main source of information for the history of the earliest period ; and for the period before the sixth century B.C. they constitute our only source. The Buddhist and Jain literatures of the succeeding period form a valuable supplementary and corroborative evidence and supply us with very important historical data. The Buddhist scriptures speak of caravans passing through sandy places of Rajasthan at night guided by professional *niyyamakas*. The *Padataditaka* speaks satirically of the habits of Dasarakas (people of Marwar).⁶¹ Literature of the age, in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, old Hindi or old Rajasthani, depicts the life of the people and their institutions (political, social, economic and religious), handicrafts, clothes, ornaments, etc. Of the few books throwing light on life in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Malwa or Western Aryavarta, mention may be made of *Dhamabindu*, *Dhurtakhyana* and *Samaraichchkatha* of Haribhadra Suri (A.D. 700-70), *Kuvalayamala-Katha* of Udyotana Suri (A.D. 778), *Upamitibhavaprapancha Katha* and *Brihatkathakosa* respectively of Siddharsi Suri (A.D. 905) and Harisena (A.D. 931), *Lilavatikatha* and *Kathakosaprakarana* of Jinesvara Suri (c. A.D. 1025), *Sringaramanjari* of Bhoja Paramara (c. 1010-55 A.D.) ; *Inanapanchami-Katha* of Mahesvara, *Jambusvami Charita* of Gunapala, etc.⁶² From the *Dharmopadesamala-vivarana* of Jayasimha Suri written in A.D. 858, it is known that Nagaur was in the kingdom of the Pratihara ruler Mihirabhoja.

The *Tirthamalas*⁶³ are another important source material, as they point out the names of the tirthas, their origin together with the miracles associated with them, their importance and the descriptions of temples and images. Dhanapala, in his poem *Satyapuriyamahavira-Utsaha*, supplies us valuable information about the holy places like Sanchor, Ahar, Srimala, Korta and Naraina which were in existence in the tenth century A.D.⁶⁴ The *Sakalatirthastavana* by Siddharshi (twelfth century A.D.) is important, as it gives a list of holy places, most of which are located in Rajasthan.⁶⁵ Important information can be had from the Jain *Pattavalis* or *Guravavalis*. The *Kharatari-gachchhapattavali* covering the period between V.S. 1211 and 1393 is very useful for political and social condition of the people of different parts of Rajasthan. It refers to the activities held at Ajmer, Chitor, Barmer, Narhad, Phalodi, Kheda, Bikampur, Mandor and Sanchor, when the Jain Acharyas visited them. Sometimes we are acquainted with the rulers of these towns who were otherwise unknown. The *Upakesagachcha Pattavali* and the *Korantagachchhapattavali* are particularly related to the towns of Osia and Korta respectively.⁶⁶

The accounts of the foreign travellers, Arabs as well as Chinese, provide us with valuable material to reconstruct the history of the ruling dynasty of the age. Yuan Chwang refers to a Kshatriya ruler of the Gurjara country who has been identified by some scholars with a Pratihara prince of the Mandor family. The Arab travellers speak of Jurz, i.e., Gurjara as one of the big states of India. Sulaiman writes about the administration of Bhoja.⁶⁷

For the last days of the Pratihara Empire, we have useful information from Muslim works like *Kitab Zainul Akhbar* of Mahmud Girdizi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini* of Al-Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Firishtha* and *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.⁶⁸

Rajashekhara, the author of the *Kavyamimamsa*, Kshemisvara, the author of the *Chandakausika* and Pampa mention valuable facts about the Pratihara history and culture. The *Prithvirajavijayamahakavya* of Jayanaka, written earlier than A.D. 1200, throws light on the history of the Chauhans up to A.D. 1191. Its account is supplemented by *Hammirmahakavya* of

Nayachandra Suri and the *Surajanacharita* of Chandrasekhara.⁶⁹ There are a few kavyas of Gujarat which supply valuable data in regard to the history of the portion of Rajasthan contiguous to Gujarat. Of these kavyas, special mention may be made of *Dvyasrayamahakavya* of Hemchandra Suri, *Kirtikaumudi* of Somesvara, *Prabandhachintamani* of Merutunga, *Prabandhakosa* of Rajshekhara and *Puratanaprabandhasangraha*.⁷⁰

The source material dealing with the culture and history of ancient Rajasthan is so vast and varied that it is not possible to include all such material in this short paper. However, an attempt has been made to mention here some of the important sources, archaeological or literary, which considerably facilitate the task of the historians who intend to reconstruct the history of ancient Rajasthan.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Popularly it is assumed that Col. Tod coined the name Rajasthan. Of course the word Rajasthan or Raithan was used in the region even before Col. Tod, but it had perhaps a slightly different connotation. It meant the abode of the Raja or the ruling chief, i.e., his capital.
- ² G. H. Ojha, *Ojha Nibandh Sangraha*, pp. 17-36.
- ³ See 'Beginning of Civilization in Rajasthan' by H. D. Sankalia, published in the *Researcher*, Volume 1.
- ⁴ *Researcher*, I, pp. 6-7.
- ⁵ For details see different issues of *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-61 and an article by V. N. Misra, 'Late Stone Age in Rajasthan', published in the *Proceedings of the Rajasthan History Congress*, Jodhpur Session, 1967.
- ⁶ H. D. Sankalia, in *Researcher*, p. 7.
- ⁷ Kalibangan has yielded evidence of the pre-Harappan culture as well. *Editor*.
- ⁸ Details can be had from the *Researcher*, I-II ; a brochure issued by the Archaeological Survey of India during its centenary celebrations.
- ⁹ The *Researcher*, V-VI, 1964-65, pp. 110-111 ; The *Researcher*, XII-XIII, 1972-73, pp. 1-14.

- 10 The *Yupa* inscriptions from Badva in the Kotah district have disclosed the existence of some Maukhari rulers in the said area in the second quarter of the third century A.D. To the present list of important epigraphic records these *Yupa* inscriptions deserve to be added. *Editor*.
- 11 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 252-54.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 13 *Epigraphia Indica* (henceforth *EI*), XXX, p. 120.
- 14 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, pp. 625-27.
- 15 *Indian Antiquary* (henceforward *IA*), XIV, p. 45.
- 16 *Ibid.*, X, p. 34.
- 17 *EI*, XXII, p. 120.
- 18 *IA*, XIV, p. 10.
- 19 *EI*, XXX, p. 1.
- 20 *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 167.
- 21 *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 55.
- 22 *Bharat Kaumudi*, I, p. 267.
- 23 *EI*, XII, pp. 10-12.
- 24 *IA*, XXIX, p. 189.
- 25 *AI*, IV, p. 31.
- 26 *Virvinod*, I, p. 380.
- 27 *Bhavnagar Inscription*, 2, pp. 69-72.
- 28 *IA*, XXXIX, p. 186.
- 29 *EI*, XVII, p. 87.
- 30 *Ibid.*, IX, p. 277.
- 31 *EI*, X, pp. 17-20.
- 32 *ZDMG*, XI, pp. 38 ff.
- 33 *EI*, II, p. 116.
- 34 *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 84. For inscriptions relating to the Chauhan rulers, see in detail the book *Early Chauhan Dynasties* by Dasharatha Sharma, pp. 337-50.
- 35 *EI*, XI, p. 181.
- 36 *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 42.
- 37 Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1914-15, p. 2, No. 2.
- 38 *EI*, XXI, p. 42.
- 39 *IA*, LVI, p. 50.
- 40 K. C. Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, p. 5.
- 41 Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, p. 26.
- 42 K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh* (1938-39 and 1939-40), Jaipur. Also *Researcher*, I-II, p. 39.
- 43 From Naliasar, Sambhar.
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 From Bairat.
- 46 From Rairh and Nagar (noted below). [For details about the Malavas and their coins, see K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of*

Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach, pp. 109 ff. Editor]

⁴⁷ From Nagari. For the Sibis and their coins, see K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 ff.

⁴⁸ For the Uddehikas and their coins, see K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 ff. Editor.

⁴⁹ From Sambhar [and also from Rangmahal and Pallu. For details about the Yaudheyas and their coinage, see K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff. Editor].

⁵⁰ From Sarvania, Banswara and Nagari.

⁵¹ Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p. 27.

⁵² Satya Prakash in *Researcher*, I, pp. 38-39. These gold coins have been catalogued by A. S. Altekar in his *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, 1954.

⁵³ *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report 1913-14, p. 227.

⁵⁴ Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p. 27.

⁵⁵ V. S. Srivastava, 'The Dadhimata Temple' (Nagaur), *Rajasthan History Congress Proceedings*, VII, p. 25.

⁵⁶ R. C. Agrawal, 'Ancient Sculptures and Terracottas from Rajasthan', *Researcher*, I-II.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Researcher*, I-II, p. 17.

⁵⁹ R. C. Agrawal, 'Ancient Sculptures and Terracottas From Rajasthan', *Researcher*, I-II, pp. 16-18.

⁶⁰ *Arunad Yavano Madhyamikam*.

⁶¹ Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, pp. 29-30.

⁶² Dasharatha Sharma, Presidential Address (Ancient India Section), *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, XXIX, Patiala, 1967, p. 34.

⁶³ *Tirthamalas* are the recorded accounts of holy places by saints and scholars who visited them.

⁶⁴ *Jain Sahitya Samsodhaka* (Ahmedabad), III, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, Baroda, LXXVI, p. 156.

⁶⁶ K. C. Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, pp. 15-16.

⁶⁷ Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p. 30.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 346.

See its bibliography, pp. 337-47.

Medieval Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL RAJASTHAN

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THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY of Rajasthan history was initiated by Col. Tod early in the nineteenth century. In spite of his linguistic handicap he studied the entire range of Rajasthan history and brought out his pioneer work entitled *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. His work is still worth perusal ; and although his findings left much to be desired by modern standards, the history of Rajasthan owes more to him than to any other writer. His *Annals* attracted the attention of Indian scholars, and as a result much striking work was done on Rajasthan history. Particularly mentionable were the works of Kaviraj Shyamal Das, Suryamal Misran, Munshi Jwala Sahai, Munshi Devi Prasad, Kaviraj Murari Dan, Gaurishankar Ojha, Bisheshwar Nath Reu and others. *Vir Vinod*, *Vamshabhaskar*, *Vakai Rajasthan*, translations of Persian works and life sketches by Munshi Devi Prasad, *The History of Rajputana* in several Volumes, *Marwar-ka-Itihas* and other early studies roused the interest of a band of modern scholars. As a result came out works like *Kota Raj-ka-Itihas* by Dr. M. L. Sharma and *The Early History of the Chauhans* by Dr. Dashrath Sharma. These works of untiring industry and deep scholarship inspired me to make further studies in the history of Rajasthan. In my own humble way I brought out my contributions—*Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, *A Bibliography of Medieval Rajasthan*, and *The Social and Cultural Life in Medieval Rajasthan*. In the last work long

chapters are devoted to social structure, feasts and festivals, religion, language, education, industry, agriculture, commerce, etc.

Later, a team of researchers engaged themselves in unearthing a mass of material and bringing out scholarly monographs, doctoral dissertations and articles for learned periodicals. It would be not out of place here to refer to the ambitious project of bringing out *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, in three volumes, under the leadership of Dr. Dashrath Sharma.

I could not resist the temptation of giving this introduction to the study, attempted in this Paper, of the sources of the history of Rajasthan. The quantum of source material is so vast that only a brief outline can be given in this short paper. The source material listed here, both Governmental and private, include Inscriptions, Coins, Archaeological Sites, contemporary histories in Persian, Rajasthani and Hindi, Archival Records, Travellers' Accounts, Illustrated Manuscripts and Paintings, Sculptures, Bardic Songs, etc. A systematic and complete study of these items will not be possible in the space at our disposal; the treatment would necessarily be selective, and would seek to draw attention to the main features only.

Inscriptions

Of all the primary sources, inscriptions which are found in abundance throughout Rajasthan, either on stone-slabs or Copper-plates, are the most important. Most of the stone-slab inscriptions are found in temples, mosques, forts and fields and wells. They report not only about the heroic and pious deeds of the builders but also indicate the literary, linguistic, political, social, religious and economic changes that took place in Rajasthan. It is true that some of them record legendary accounts; nevertheless, they serve as real landmarks of Rajasthan history. The inscriptions may broadly be divided into three parts. The first part generally consists of invocatory verses. The second part records the genealogies and achievements of the rulers, or other persons for whom or under whose instructions the inscriptions were written. The third part gives the dates of composition and the names of the writers, the scribes and the engra-

vers. The script employed in these inscriptions is *Nagari*, almost of the type prevalent at present. In the earlier epigraphs the characters belong to the northern class of the alphabets of the tenth century, commonly called *Kutila lipi*. The language is Sanskrit or local dialect. There are some inscriptions which are bilingual. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities have been noticed :

- (i) An *anuswara* is used for a class nasal as well as for a final *m*, almost invariably ; omissions of *visarga* and its redundant use are also found ;
- (ii) a consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled ;
- (iii) usually a single *chh* is for *chchh* and vice versa ;
- (iv) the sign of *avagraha* is seldom used ;
- (v) in many cases *v* is employed instead of *b*, sometimes *sh* stands for *kh*, *k* for *pha*, dental *s* for palatal ;
- (vi) the forms of *v* and *b*, *sh* and *sa*, *y* and *p*, *e* and *gha*, *t* and *da*, etc., are usually similar in appearance ;
- (vii) in earlier epigraphs the *shiro-matras* are represented by *prasta-a* ;
- (viii) in some of the epigraphs the rounded letters are represented by square-shaped letters ;
- (ix) rules of *Sandhis* are not observed in some cases and misused in others ;
- (x) sometimes *desi* words of the local dialect are used in Sanskrit composition and vice versa.

I propose now to give a list of some of the important epigraphs, published and unpublished, followed by a brief historical introduction to each.

(1) *Manmori inscription*¹ of V.S. 770, refers to the genealogy of the Mori dynasty and helps us to form an idea of the prosperous condition of Chitor during the seventh century.

(2) *Pratapgarh inscription*² of the time of Pratihara King Mahendra of *mohodaya* Samvat 1003. The inscription, under review, contains thirty-five lines of writing covering the space of 2' : 6" broad by 2' : 2¼" high. The grant begins with two benedictory verses invoking the Sun-god, followed by two simi-

lar verses in praise of the goddess Durga. It is written by Purohit Trivikramanath, under orders from Jajj-naga. For the study of the economic history of the region, the inscription is very useful. There is a reference to a land which could be irrigated by one leather bucket called *Koshvahaka*. Here the boundaries of the fields are defined for administrative purposes. The reference to endowments in favour of *Vata Yakshini* is interesting. They are—one *palika* of oil per oil-mill, five bundles of foliage, 100 garlands of four strings together with two *palas* of saffron and one *pala* of betel-nuts from the trading community. The inscription also preserves the names of some of the castes and designations of some of the officers of the period.

(3) *Sannath inscription*³ of V.S. 1010. This inscription, which originally appears to have belonged to a Varaha temple at Ahada (the old capital of Mewar) is now placed in the temple of Siva called Sarneshwara, about two miles from Udaipur in the Mewar territory. The inscription contains seventeen verses. It records the construction of the temple of Vishnu in his Varaha form during the reign of the Guhila king Allata of Mewar. It furnishes the information and the working of the *Gostika*, the temple assembly and the administrative council. The persons appointed to various duties were designated as *Akshapatalika* (accountant-general), *Sandhivigrahika* (an officer for peace and order), *Vandipati* (the chief bard) and *Bhishagadhiraj* (the chief medical man). The record then fixes the donation for the maintenance of the temple in the form of one *dramma* (a silver coin) for the sale of an elephant, two *rupukas* on a horse, one-fortieth of a *dramma* on a horned animal, one *tula* (five *seers* of grain) from a *lata* (the division of crop between a peasant and the state) and one *adhaka* (a measure of grain containing about $3\frac{1}{2}$ *seers*) from a *hatta* (weekly or monthly market), one *ghatika* from a milkman, one *pitaka* from a gambler, one *pala* of oil from every oil-mill and one *rupaka* for a *randhani* (feast). The epigraph also retains the name of one artist, Agrata, and two scribes, Pala and Velhaka, of the Kayastha caste. The inscription under review shows the prosperous condition of Ahada during the reign of Allata, since it was

visited by merchants coming or passing through it from the distant parts of the country. It also informs us about the coins, weights and measures and about the various professions of the period.

(4) *Nath inscription*,⁴ V.S. 1028. The inscription is placed in a temple called Nathmandir near Eklingaji's temple about fifteen miles from Udaipur on the way to Nathdwara. The stone is fixed in the wall. The cracks at several ends have damaged the text making it difficult to decipher it. But whatever is made out of it is very important for the study of the early history of the Guhilots, the life and livings of the hermits and the standard of learning attained by Amarkavi of that Age. The composition being in Sanskrit verse.

- (5-11) *Nadol inscription*⁵ of V.S. 1202,
- Thakrada Copper-plate grant*⁶ of V.S. 1212,
- Ghanerao inscription*⁷ of V.S. 1323 ;
- Jalore inscription*⁸ of V.S. 1323 ;
- Katar inscription*⁹ V.S. 1335 ;
- The Ratanpur inscription*¹⁰ V.S. 1343 ;

The Delwada inscription,¹¹ V.S. 1491 and others refer to the donation in the form of *dramma*, *rupaka*, *nanak*, *ela*, *vimshapika*, *dramastaka* (1/8th part of the *dramma*), *dramardha* ($\frac{1}{2}$ of a *dramma*), *tanka* as current coins in some parts of Rajasthan. There are indications of the benefits and immunities which the epigraphs specified for the beneficiaries.

(12-19) Most of the minor inscriptions of the period are remarkable for the details and dates they contain as regards social, religious and economic aspects. *Harsha temple inscription*¹² of V.S. 1030 refers to Pushkara as a place of pilgrimage. *Ingoda inscription*¹³ of V.S. 1190 states that *Saivism* was the religion of the rulers of Rajasthan and that they held the proprietary rights over the land under cultivation. The inscription¹⁴ of V.S. 1200 and that of V.S. 1213 say that the killing of cows and of Brahmanas was a great sin. *Nadol Copper-plate grant*¹⁵ of V.S. 1218 refers to *Mandapika* functioning on behalf of the ruler in matters of assigning of land, supervising

the fixation of the land produce, and realisation of state dues. *Jalore inscriptions*¹⁶ of V.S. 1239 and V.S. 1268 record that the son of Yeshodev established a rest-house for the comforts of the wayfarers. *Abu inscription*¹⁷ of V.S. 1287 refers to the Jain festivals of *Ashtahika* and *Panchakalyanika*. *Ghanerao temple*¹⁸ inscription of V.S. 1677 records the construction of an inn by one Shobha for the use of pilgrims visiting the town. *Himmat Ram temple inscription*¹⁹ throws light on the mode of journey of the Jain *Samgha*.

(20) *Chirva Inscription*²⁰ of V.S. 1330. The stone containing this inscription is now fixed outside the door of a new temple at Chirva village, situated about eight miles to the north of Udaipur. The record consists of thirty-six lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit. It speaks very highly of the valour of Jaitra Singh whose pride could not be humbled by the rulers of Malwa, Gujarat, Jangala and Mlechadesha. The information regarding an administrative officer, named Talara, is very interesting. It also refers to the Jain *Acharyas* of that period who flourished at Chitor. It preserves a fine description of the layout and prosperity of a hilly village and records the significance of the *Sati* system.

(21) *Sringirishi inscription*²¹ of V.S. 1485. The inscription is fixed in a niche in the western wall of a small verandah below the temple of Sringirishi. The inscription is important in as much as it gives some historical information with regard to the four successive princes and their achievements—Hammir, Kheta, Lakha and Mokal. It records the practice of weighing royal persons against gold, silver and other precious objects. The record is composed by one Yogeshwara and engraved by Phana.

(22) *Ranpur temple inscription*²² of V.S. 1496. The inscription is engraved on a stone built in a pillar to the left of the entrance into the Chaumukha temple at Ranpur, about six miles from Sadri in the Jodhpur district. For the progress of the study of Sanskrit language, relations of Maharana Kumbha with the neighbouring states and other miscellaneous matters the

inscription is an important historical source material.

(23-24) *Chitor Vijayastambha and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions*,²³ V.S. 1517. They give an insight into the political condition of Rajasthan during Kumbha's age and progress of art and literature. There are references in the epigraphs regarding the institution of slavery, *ashram*, vedic sacrifice, mode of penances and existence of inns and educational institutions.

(25) *Eklinga inscription*,²⁴ V.S. 1545. It furnishes accounts of the wars of the Ranas of Mewar, festivals of *Shivaratri*, *Vasanta Panchami*, educational system as it was prevalent in *Ashrama* and home. The writer of the inscription was Mahe-shwar, poet laureate of Mewar of Maharana Raimal.

(26) *Bikaner inscription*²⁵ of Raisingh, V.S. 1650. This long *prashasti* was caused to be engraved by Rai Singh in the new fort built in his capital. It is fixed on a Jamb of Suraj Pole gate. The major bulk of the text contains panegyric of the Rathors, a genealogical list of the ancestors of Rai Singh, and lastly his achievements. It was composed by Jain Muni Jayata.

(27) *Jagannath Rai inscription*,²⁶ V.S. 1709. It is fixed on both sides of the passage leading into the *Sabha Mandap* of the Jagannath Rai temple, Udaipur. It throws sufficient light on the battle of Haldighati, system of education and several religious rites practised during the period. It was composed by Lakshman Bhatt.

(28) *Raj Prashasti*,²⁷ V.S. 1792. It is an epic poem in 24 cantos, engraved on 25 slabs. These slabs are fixed in the niches of the embankment of the Raj Samudra lake, constructed by Maharana Raj Singh. Its writer was Ranchhoda Bhatt. It describes the sufferings of the people during a famine, and the measures taken by the Rana to alleviate them. It throws sufficient light on several religious rites and practices of the period. Chhabra and Chakravarti²⁸ have rightly observed that whereas the poet's account of the contemporary events appears to be fairly authentic, his descriptions touching the earlier history, for

which he had drawn chiefly upon legendary, bardic and traditional sources, are manifestly wrong in several details and are therefore unreliable.

There are a set of inscriptions²⁹ ranging from fifteenth to eighteenth century which throw light on the nature of land and its grants. A closer study of these epigraphs show that the entire land of a village was classified as *pival* (irrigable), *rankhad* (unproductive), *kankad* (rough), *talai* (recovered from the lake or pond), *Dhimdo* (irrigated from well), *mal* (productive land), *magaro* (hilly), etc. They were further classified as *bhur* (brown), *chiknot* (black), *retad* (sandy), etc. Land meant for public purpose or charity or allotted to peasants could not be taken by government. Fallow or unsettled land could be resumed. Charitable lands called *Sasan* were untransferable and irrevocable. Plots of land were known by natural objects, such as tree, road, channel, etc., and they were termed accordingly.

Coins

Coins form an interesting source of history. Prinsep and Cunningham have given references to the coins of Rajasthan. Several coins of various sizes and value have been stored in the museums of Rajasthan and in private collections. The catalogues of such coins, if prepared, would be of inestimable value. The earlier epigraphs,³⁰ referred to above, have revealed that *dramma* was the basic coin used for exchange. It was further divided into 1/2, 1/8, 1/20, etc. Side by side with the *dramma* we also find *rupaka* as one of the coins for transaction. *Nanaks*³¹ have also been used for current coins. According to Ratnamandirgani,³² a writer of the fifteenth century A.D., silver, gold and copper *tankas* were accepted as medium of exchange. Firishta³³ informs us that Maharana Kumbha struck gold coins—circular and square ones. *Alam Shahi*, *Narangashahi*, *Firozi*, *Vijaya Shahi*, *Swaroopshahi*, *Gaj Shahi*, etc., were the various types of silver coins current in medieval and modern Rajasthan,³⁴ with different weights and denominations. *Takka*, *Phadiya*, *Paisa*, *Dhingla*, *Dhabbu Shai*, etc., were the copper coins in use.³⁵

These coins, besides pointing out the style and standard of

cutting patterns in metal, indicate the artistic attainments of the period to which they belong. The series of dates and names, as in the case of Guhil, Bapa, Vikramjit, etc., borne on the coins help us to settle the chronological order of the rulers and doubtful questions of succession. Their intrinsic value, moreover, leads us to determine the economic condition of the erstwhile States. A study of medieval Rajasthan coins makes us believe that there was a considerable influence of the Mughal coinage on them. Their references in our records also indicate the nature of circulation of the coins, market conditions and different rates of discount charged on their exchange.

Archaeological Sites

During our period of study there had been a considerable development of town life and fortified constructions. The problem of the chronological relations between the ruined Bhil habitations and those of new Rajput settlers in Rajasthan is one of the most outstanding questions of study relating to our period. But there are some sites of towns, villages and forts which can be studied with profit with the help of the theoretical works of Mandan³⁶ and Sadashiva.³⁷ The new towns of Dungarpur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Kotah, Jaisalmer and Jaipur which developed by virtue of their dimension and increased population stand as a contrast to the earlier towns of Ahar, Jawar, Amber, Ajmer, etc.³⁸ However, the initial growth of towns represented a cultural advancement beyond the stage of the agricultural settlements. Each phase of culture had produced typical urban forms, depending on the geographical environment and on the social heritage. In brief, the Rajput settlements brought a new change in the scattered hamlets and villages of the hilly regions and plains. They established many of their fortified towns on the sites or near the earlier seats of settlement like that of Lodrava.³⁹ Dungarpur occupied the original habitations of Dunganinya Bhil.⁴⁰ Kotah was founded near the Bhil settlements of Akailgarh and Asalpur.⁴¹

From the fourteenth century onwards the influence of the chiefs and their nobles helped to create many notable towns, such

as Badnor, Banera, Ahua, Jobner, etc. Many of the towns developed as spiritual centres, such as Dhuleva,⁴² Kolayat,⁴³ Deshnok,⁴⁴ Nathdwara,⁴⁵ etc. They constituted centres of population attached to temples or engaged in business. Merta, Nagor, Pali, etc., were particularly suited to become trading centres, which led to the growth of markets, temples, town-walls, etc.⁴⁶

The planning of the forts in Rajasthan also forms a subject of interesting study. The earliest of the forts on record in Rajasthan is the fort of Chitor which passed on from Man Mari⁴⁷ to Jaitra Singh. The improvement of the fort was done by Maharana Kumbha in the fifteenth century A.D. It was a fort with all facilities for the residence of the royal family and commoners. The habitation at the base called *taleti* was a later development.⁴⁸ Another notable fort was Kumbhal-mera designed by Mandan and built by Kumbha from 1500 to 1515. Unlike Chitor, which stands on an isolated hill, Kumbhalgarh is enclosed within several mountain ranges. It is the biggest monument of Kumbha's military and constructive genius.⁴⁹ The forts of Jodhpur, Jalor, Nagor, Gagrion, etc., have also their own history, but they were designed to be royal residences.⁵⁰ As the major defence of the States depended upon these forts, they were well provisioned with guns, cannons, gun-powder and adequate store of stuff and supply of water. The administrative arrangements were also entrusted to a *Durga Raja*, a *Kiledar*, *Hawal-dars*, *watchmen*, etc., according to our records.⁵¹ These forts with their monuments of various categories like palaces, mansions, temples, mosques, step-wells, market places and commoners' quarters demand our sympathetic consideration to save them from the ravages of time and the ruthless process of disintegration. All necessary measures of restoration and conservation should actively be adopted to preserve these authentic relics. This source enables the student to have an idea of the evolution of town-planning, and construction of forts, temples and other monuments. Their systematic study would also lead us to determine with precision the degree of the impact of Islam on indigenous architecture. Even a general outline of the history of Rajasthan will be incomplete without making a brief reference to these historical

sites. A fresh survey of these monuments will provide a few guiding hints to future historians. Of course, the Archaeological Survey Reports throw welcome light on these sites in their own way. But we are still far from having come near the end of the task of indicating a correlation between the literary and Archival Records and archaeological sites. By bringing together the study of these two disciplines some tangible progress may easily be achieved.

Historical Literature

Besides these inscriptions, coins and archaeological sites, we have to turn to the mass of historical and literary works. The production of literature in our country has been a long tradition. In Rajasthan too it found its firm footing, with the result that a mass of literature in Sanskrit, Rajasthani and Hindi was produced belonging to all categories—religious, philosophical, astronomical, literary and scientific. Though the main aim of its writing had been to enrich the special branch to which it belonged, it also provides rich historical data. A detailed discussion of this class of source material in all its variety has been attempted in my work, *A Bibliography of Medieval Rajasthan*.⁵² So I propose to confine myself here to a selective treatment only, for our appreciation of literature as a source of historical knowledge.

The Literature in Sanskrit, under review, is mostly in manuscript form, not often open to inspection. However, the historical *kavyas*, as I may term them, enable us to picture the political, social, economic and religious life of the period to which they belong. The introductory parts of this kind of literature, being concerned with the devotional aspect, are not very useful to us. But the descriptions of the lineage and the achievements of the patron for whom the authors composed them often supplement the inscriptions admirably. The *Bhatti Kavya*⁵³ and the *Eklinga Mahatmya*,⁵⁴ for example, composed during the fifteenth century, preserve a vivid picture of Jaisalmer and Chitor, respectively. For the study of the planning of towns, dresses, places of pilgrimage, various religious and social insti-

tutions and achievements of the rulers of Jaisalmer and Mewar, they are unique works of their kind. The *Karmachandra Vamshatkiratanakam Kavyam*⁵⁵ of Jaisoma, dated 1650, gives interesting details of Bikaner, its gates, and charitable institutions. The accounts of the celebration of *Dashera* in Bikaner and a school for the study of logic in *Upasaras* are highly informative. Similarly, *Amarsar* by Pandit Jiudadhar deals with the history of Rana Pratap, Amar Singh I, and Rana Karan Singh. The work, besides furnishing details of the political history of Mewar, provides useful information regarding sweets of various kinds served at dinner and dresses worn by the warriors of the period. It throws a vivid light on the gladiatorial contests, contests between horses and tigers, and water pranks as favourite pastimes at the Court of Amar Singh. This work is the first link (in Mewar) between the indigenous literature and the literature produced after the Mughal contact. It makes a useful contribution regarding the Age of Pratap and Amar Singh which no other source has done so far.

As we come to the seventeenth century, to a large extent inscriptions of detailed category, barring a few, became extinct, and their place is taken by the historical *Kavyas* of note. *Amarkavya Vamshavali*⁵⁶ and *Raj-Ratnakar*⁵⁷ belonging to the period of Rajsingh and composed by Ranchhoda Bhatt and Sadashiv respectively give several political details of Mewar which no other history furnishes. They throw light on the pilgrimages of the royal family, equipments of the warriors, pastimes, *dashera* festival, fairs, mode and method of education and institutions of *Tuladan*, *Jauhar* and *Sati*. Similarly, *Ajtodaya*⁵⁸ and *Ajit Charitra*⁵⁹ written by Bhatt Jagajiwan and Dikshit Balkrishna respectively are of immense value to historians as an independent authority on the history of Maharaja Ajit's time. These *Kavyas* supply graphic accounts of wars, treaties, and conquests of the rulers of Marwar, and furnish a mine of information regarding several customs, usages and traditions prevalent during the period. They also provide descriptions of the state of *Varnashrama*, *Jatakarma Samskara*, marriage ceremony and death ceremony. The poets also throw light on the town-planning of those days, with special reference to Jodhpur. The description of the garden and

shops shows that the Mughal influence had made its mark in the Rajput way of living.

One important architectural treatise of high order entitled *Rajvallabh*⁶⁰ by Mandan gives us an idea of the high engineering skill and knowledge of technique of the medieval architects and throws light on several aspects of architectural skill borrowed from the classical works. It furnishes plans of towns, villages, forts, wells, roads, lanes, etc., which served as a guide for the architects of Maharana Kumbha. The layout of the gardens, palaces, dancing halls and locations of artisans, merchants and the like, given by the writer, are very interesting. The work still stands to be closely examined as to the theoretical and practical sides of planning and construction. Another work entitled *Raj Vinod* by Bhatt Sadashiv, written at the instance of Maharaja Kalyanmal (1542-1574 A.D.), throws light on the planning of the fort with lesser details than those given by Mandan. But the work holds its position regarding the information it furnishes on several topics of social, economic and military importance. The chapters on perfumes, diets, arms, method of warfare, method of storing of arms and ammunitions, fights of animals and birds, hunting and fishing are highly informative.

We also notice some of the works on music belonging to this period, of which *Nritya Ratna Kosh*⁶¹ by Kumbha, *Sangit-makaranda*⁶² by Veda (V.S. 1602), *Sangit Ratnakar*⁶³ by Saranagadev, and *Sangita Darpan*⁶⁴ by Damodar (V.S. 1718) are pre-eminent. They deal with the classical and local dances and music. One of them deals with dances like *Chhachhari*, *Bandha*, *Godli*, *Peruni* and *Kalpa*.

The next large mass of literature consists of manuals dealing with rituals, rites and code of daily discipline. While contributing little directly to our knowledge of history, they undoubtedly make an indirect contribution to our knowledge of the customs, habits and standard of moral behaviour expected from the people and the princes of the period under review. There are also some works which have nothing to do with history, yet their prologues, epilogues and colophons often furnish valuable data regarding social, economic and cultural life of the people of the age to which they belong. I propose to cite a few

examples only. *Dhanurveda*⁶⁵ copied in V.S. 1718 gives details of bows and arrows and also refers to some of the new military tactics adopted in Rajasthan due to the Mughal contact. *Ramvinod*⁶⁶ by Rama Bhatt describes rituals observed during the eclipse. *Vidyamahotsava*⁶⁷ by Nayansukh, dated V.S. 1721, deals with various diseases and suggests their remedies. *Grahasnanvichar*⁶⁸ of V.S. 1723 by Nagadev deals with the mode of taking bath and use of toilets. *Karmapradip* copied by Pandya Saranagadhar in V.S. 1724 mentions in the colophon that the father prepared transcript copies of books for the use of his sons and grandsons. *Kartivirya Stavaraj*,⁶⁹ copied by Bankat Rama in V.S. 1763, deals with the superstitions of the age. For example, if a widow, per chance, crosses the way of one who is going out for some business, it is considered inauspicious. The colophon of *Rampaddhati*⁷⁰ by Lakshminivas, dated V.S. 1771, indicates that the pupils were known more by the name of their teachers than that of their fathers.

The period under review has rich *Kavya* literature in Rajasthan. Basically this literature chooses one theme or other from historical events and as such it has much to contribute to Rajasthan history. *Kanhadadeprabandha*⁷¹ by Padmanabha is without a parallel in as much as it furnishes valuable details of Alauddin Khalji's invasion of Jalore and defence preparations of the Chauhans. It seems that the poet has based his work on court records, chronicles and current historical traditions. Besides the political information that it furnishes, it is a mine of information on the social customs and manners of the period. The information of the celebration of victory of Rao Jait Singh over prince Kamran, recorded in *Rao Jait Singh-ro-chhand*⁷² by Bithu Sujo, is priceless by virtue of its being absent in the Persian chronicles. The *Gunbhasha*⁷³ and *Gunrupak*,⁷⁴ composed by Hemkavi and Keshavdas respectively, preserve accounts useful for social and economic history of the sixteenth century. The *Gunsar*⁷⁵ composed by Maharaja Ajit Singh throws a flood of light on the settled condition of Marwar after the heroic struggles of the Rathors against the Mughals. The *Raj Rupak*⁷⁶ by Virabhan preserves a vivid account of the Rathor battles against the Mughal generals during the seventeenth century. Its

account of men's dress, ornaments of ladies and presents offered at the time of a betrothal ceremony are valuable. The *Nakhar-sikh*⁷⁷ by Rupji gives a full list of ornaments with reference to the part of the body where each ornament was worn in the seventeenth century. The *Suraj Prakash*⁷⁸ by Karnidan pictures the age of Abhaya Singh of Jodhpur, giving details of the strenuous time of wars as well as peaceful pursuits of the ruler for cultural attainments.

Khyat literature is a class by itself. The bards and charans built up this literature on the basis of records handed down from father to son. They concerned traditions of more or less historical value. The unfortunate part of this kind of literature is that history and fiction have been so much mixed up and the chronological order has been so badly maintained that the entire material furnished by it has been discarded as unhistorical, though it provides a valuable information on the cultural, political, social and economic history of royal and feudal families. This source still awaits a critical study and analysis.

The *Kyats* by Nensi, Dayaldas and Bankidas are well known. They represent the continuous tradition of pre-Muslim historical writing and the new trends which developed in that art after the advent of the Turks and the Mughals. The great merit of the *Khyats*, outweighing several drawbacks, is that they had been written for the most part by contemporaries who had taken part in the events or who had seen the occurrences with their own eyes. That is why the volume of their authenticity increases progressively as the accounts come nearer to the age of the writers. The data furnished by them sometimes compare favourably with those found in the Persian chronicles. Wherever they do not tally, the historian's task is to study them and to search for the truth rather than to reject them.

What is true of the *Khyat* literature is also true of the *Vat* literature. The *Khyat Vat Sangrah*,⁷⁹ *Khangar-ri-vat*,⁸⁰ *Bija Sarath-ri-Varta*,⁸¹ *Maliyagiri-ri-vat*,⁸² *Achaldas Khichi-ri-varta*,⁸³ etc., touch all aspects of the life of the people, high or low. The stories recorded in them may appear fabulous, yet they serve to stand as illustrations of the actual life of the people of that age. But as there is less history and more of gossip, only an expert

hand should handle them to bring out what is useful for the reconstruction of social and cultural history.

During the same period we come across writings in Hindi, mostly in poetry, reflecting on political, religious and social themes of history. *Pashchimadristatram*⁸⁴ indicates the assimilation and adjustment processes between the Hindu and Muslim thinking. *Nagadam*,⁸⁵ though dedicated to the Vaishnavite theme, throws light on several social aspects. *Triyavinod*⁸⁶ by Murlikavi of 1736 draws a picture of the society which, according to him, was perverted. *Raj Vilas*⁸⁷ by Man Kavi is the most important source which supplements and corroborates events of Raj Singh's reign. There are also other works⁸⁸ like *Khedatankamula* of V.S. 1756, *Akhatavarnanam* of V.S. 1751, *Manohar Vallari* of 1789, *Phul Kutuhal*, *Kapadkutuhall*, *Bikaner Gazal*, *Udaipur Gazal*, *Abu Gazal*, etc., which are unique in their numerous accurate observations on the social and cultural life of Rajasthan.

In the historical literature we also include Persian chronicles⁸⁹ written by official and non-official historians. As the volume of historical writing increases with the advent of Islam, it becomes impossible and unmanageable to deal with individual works within the limited space of this paper. It would be worthwhile, therefore, to confine ourselves to certain salient features which affected the historical knowledge of our period. The accounts of Ajmer preserved in *Tazul-maasir* of Hasan Nizami and of other parts of Rajasthan in *Baburnama* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, though very interesting, need closer study along with the local sources cited above. Similarly, *Tarikh-i-Alfi* by Amir Khusru needs scrutiny and comparison with the accounts of events preserved in *Padminichopai*, *Gorabadal Gita*, *Padmini Charitra*, *Kanhadadeprabandha*, *Hummir Kavya* and the like. The details of *Akbarnama*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* can profitably be utilized along with the indigenous sources referred to above. The histories of the period from Jahangir's time to the later Mughals—*Iqbalnama*, the three *Bais-hahanamas*, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, *Alamgir-nama*, *Siyer-ul-Mutakhirin*, etc., have been too much occupied with wars, Court-intrigues and personal rivalries. Naturally, they have very little space or inclination to record the affairs embracing social and cultural

aspects of the history of Rajasthan. However, due to the closer contact of the Rajput princes with the Sultans and the Mughal Emperors, here and there, we get glimpses of a true picture of political life and social and religious practices of the age under review. The closer examination of these Persian chronicles in the light of the indigenous material will make clear the diplomatic moves of Akbar in relation to the Rajput princes and show his determined policy to make an end of the Rajput problem. At the same time this very source also reveals the faulty actions of Aurangzeb who handled the situation in a manner not befitting the situation. If this source is studied in the light, as proposed, it will be both supplementary and complementary to the local sources.

*Archival Records*⁹⁰

The official and non-official records preserved in the archives of the former states, now deposited in the Central and District Archival Offices, constitute a reliable source material for our study. They form a true guide to the chronological events, social practices and administrative patterns of the courts of the princes. The records of the erstwhile states were preserved in the form of files, *bahis*, *chopanyas*, *haqiqats*, *dasturs*, day to day correspondence, reports, enquiries, etc., embracing all kinds of papers and documents pertaining to revenue, judiciary, police, army, taxation and so on. The records have a continuity, at least from the seventeenth century to the present day. Unfortunately, no guide or hand-book or list, calendered and published, is available. Of course some crucial records like *Portfolio Files*, *Dastur Komwar*, *Toji Records*, *Haqiqat Bahis*, *Havala Bahis*, *Siyahah Huzur*, *Rojnamchas*, *Dargah Files* and several others have received special attention and have been commented upon by me, for the first time, in several research journals.⁹¹ The *Nishans* and *Farmanas* (in one volume) being published by the State Archives, Bikaner, are quite important. A brief content of these records, unpublished and written in Rajasthani character, will reveal that, being old and authenticated, they are thoroughly reliable and throw a good deal

of light on a new aspect of the history of Rajasthan.

The Archival Records, Bikaner, hold much valuable material in the *Patakas*, *Byav Bahis*, *Shaharlekha Bahi*, *Rokad Bahi*, *Hansal Bahi* and *Thath Bahi*. The Kota Records classified in several *Bhandars* and *Bahis*, ranging from V.S. 1716 to 1862, furnish a mine of information on topics of social, religious, economic and other cultural aspects of the period. The Archival Records, Jodhpur, retain *Byav Bahis*, *Portfolio Files*, *Haqiqat Bahis*, *Havala Bahis*, *Hat Bahis*, *Khasa-Parwanah Bahis*, etc. They not only give us an insight into the language used or script adopted but also throw sufficient light on the economic, social, and administrative history of the period. The *Siyahah Huzur* records of Jaipur, beginning from V.S. 1735 and concluding with V.S. 2006, are in the form of daily diaries. They record the expenditure and income along with the events relating to the royal household. The *Dastur Komwar* records, bound in thirty-two volumes, enumerate the persons who were entitled to rewards in cash or kind or both on particular festivals as a traditional right. The *Toji Records* of Jaipur were kept datewise in loose leaves retaining all items of expenditure and income of the state, *parganahs* and *tehsils*. The Udaipur Records also hold much valuable records pertaining to *Rajlok*, revenue and other matters. The Ajmer Records preserve documents and files relating to the *Dargah* and the administration of Ajmer since 1818. The Records of Alwar, Bharatpur and Kishangarh are extremely valuable from the eighteenth century onward, being written up from day to day.

There are also valuable collections of private papers in the custody of old families or learned institutions, which, if surveyed and pooled together, can give valuable hints on several courses of events which happened in Rajasthan. The Records preserved by Chopasani Institute, Jodhpur, Vidya Peeth, Udaipur, Oriental Institute, Jodhpur, Sthai-Dafter, Nathdwara, and Dhulev Records, Udaipur, are among the major repositories which have much to furnish and to tell.

*Travellers' Accounts*⁹²

Quite a large number of European travellers visited India during our period. Their accounts of the cities, court-life, processions and general condition of the people, though vivid, are full of their own interpretation and impression which are not free from personal prejudices and idea of race superiority. Fortunately, in the general description of India given by these travellers, we trace out here and there some references to Rajasthan which are useful for our study of the social and cultural life of the state. However, in accepting their statements we have to observe caution, as what they write is not wholly true and accurate.

Monserate's description of *Holi* favourably compares with the *Holi* festival celebrated in Rajasthan. William Finch's account of the prosperity of Mewar, Jaipur and Ajmer is interesting. Sir Thomas Roe's description of Ajmer and Chitor and gifts from Jahangir to Kunwar Karan are vivid and picturesque. Pelsaert's reference to *Khichri* as poor man's food is interesting. Terry's description of Ajmer and gift of a turban along with other things from Jahangir to Karan are interesting. Peter Mundy's observations on cock and bull fights and observance of *Holi* in the Rajas' land throw light on the social life of the period. Manrique Fray Sebastian's notices of the town of Jaisalmer, its people and their local dances have been found of great use. Tavernier's notices of the desert of Rajasthan, Ajmer, eclipse and charity, wages to boatmen, conveyance used, articles manufactured and penances observed are of great interest. Bernier's references to Ajmer, *Sati* system, *Id* day, *Holi* festival, eclipse and charity, icons, opium-eating habits of the Rajputs and the poverty of the people of Rajasthan are of great value. Manucci's account of the villages of Mewar and description of the desert of Rajasthan shows his intimacy with these areas. Captain Mundy's description of the jungles of Bharatpur and the local dress of the common people of the town is graphic. Bishop Heber's description of Jaipur and Ajmer and his observations on festivals and several other customs are highly informative.

*Paintings*⁹³

What Archival Records and Literature preserve in outline about the cultural trends, paintings depict in fineness and faithfulness. The Rajasthani paintings which are found in the collections of the states are important landmarks in historical studies. They not only represent the typical styles of different schools of art, but also stand as testimony of the age to which they belong. Right from the eleventh century to the eighteenth century we come across several paintings which depict Rajasthani culture in its true perspective. The *Kalikacharya Katha*, *Kalpasutra*, Udaipur, and *Bhagwat Puran* Paintings, Jodhpur, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are fine specimens illustrating the dress, mode of living and various other aspects of the period. The *Ragini*-set of Jaipur of V.S. 1667, *Dholamaru* of Udaipur, V.S. 1677, *Arsh Ramayana* of V.S. 1708, etc., unfold in continuous series the scenes of townlife, village life and life in a hermitage. How a definite Mughal influence had made its way through Mewar can clearly be perceived in pictures where Rama and Laksmana appear like Mughal generals and Ravana appears like a *faqir*. Then there are some illustrated manuscripts like *Avatargita*, *Krishnacharitra*, *Kavipriya*, *Durgapath*-set, *Ekdashimahatmya*, *Panchatantra*, *Ramayana*, *Shiv Puran*, etc., of the eighteenth century, belonging to either the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, or the Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur, which preserve various objects of interest and throw light on the manner of dress, construction of houses, village-planning, religious ceremonies, pastimes, irrigation methods, common men's life, etc. Certain specimens from Khajanchi-collection, Motimahar collection, and Nathdwara paintings throw new light on religious and cultural aspects of the period.

*Sculpture*⁹⁴

As we build up history through written records, so also we may reconstruct it through a creative art—sculpture. The survey of Rajasthan sculpture accomplished through the patient labour of General Cunningham, Carlyle and Garrick help us to appreciate the fundamental importance of Rajasthan sculpture. Similar

attempts made since then by other art critics have yielded fruitful results. The special issue of the *Marg* on Rajasthan sculptures may be said to cover practically all the important pieces. Similarly, the priceless collections in several museums of Rajasthan and isolated sculptures from various sites have their own tales to tell. Though a large number of such pieces have met their premature death, partly due to the ruthless activities of the invaders and partly due to the unsympathetic concern of the public at large, the remnants at our disposal offer clues to several problems for the cultural history of our period. A systematic survey of the images given to the cults of Shiva, Shakti, Sun and Vishnu found at Chitor, Bhimal, Kiradu, Amber, Osia, etc., indicate the worship of these gods from ancient times. The images of the dancers Parwati, Shiva, Yakshas and others collected from the fort of Chitor and Kalyanpur and preserved by the present writer in the M. B. College Art Gallery, Udaipur, depict a large variety of garments and ornaments of eleventh to the fifteenth century. The dancing parties sculptured at Delwada, Nagda, Chitor and Jagadish temple (eleventh to seventeenth century) are very useful for the comparative study of dresses, ornaments, musical instruments, etc., of the period concerned. The images of deities and figures of men and women of various grades sculptured at Vela Kabra temple of Chitor and Vijayasthambha are of special value for the cultural history of Rajasthan. The carved panels at Raj Samudra represent a dynamic impulse of art, depicting customs, beliefs and several aspects of social life.

Heroic Songs

The bards, charans, Bhojaks, Motisars and Ranimangas of Rajasthan devoted their time to the composition of heroic songs, based on historical or semi-historical themes, during the *apabhramsha* period. These songs, by virtue of being the *Vir Gitas*, marked a revolution in the formation of *dingal* literature in verse. Historical events offered, time and again, a favourable field for the exercise of imagination, and the composers spared no pains to make their diction and rhythm as perfect and

harmonious as possible. Their strange witchery of words and sounds and their tilting expressions were meant to create a mode of enthusiasm at the time of war or at the time of committing *Sati*. There were certain ceremonial occasions when these singers were expected to display their ability and genius and obtain fitting rewards. The wandering Ranimangas used to create a heroic atmosphere by singing *Virgitas* from village to village. Such songs were sung by a single man or a party with the beat of drums or tinkling of disks.

These songs were preserved in manuscripts by the bardic class, in continuity from generation to generation. They throw sufficient light on the various aspects of historical events. A brief content of some of the songs will reveal that, being old and authenticated, they are thoroughly reliable and throw a good deal of light on a new aspect of the history of Rajasthan.

1. *Gogali-ro-git*—It covers the life history of the hero of the 11th century Rajasthan, who sacrificed his life for the cause of his country.

2. *Mallinathji-ro-git*—It is a song in praise of Mallinath who sacrificed his life for the cause of his clan.

3. *Kumbhaji-ra-jas*—They deal with the wars of Maharana Kumbha against the rulers of Nagor, Malwa and Gujarat.

4. *Sango-ji-ra-git*—These songs throw sufficient light on the warlike activities of Rana Sanga.

5. *Pratap Singhji-ra-duwa*—They deal with the heroic actions of Maharana Pratap.

6. *Abhayasinghji-ra-Chhand*—They deal with the war of Maharaja Abhay Singh waged against the governor of Gujarat.

7. *Amar-Singhji-ra-jas*—These songs include the praise of Amar Singh Rathore.

Some of these songs were compiled by Bhur Singh Shekhawat under the title of *Maharana Yash Prakash*. The work has now become rare. Yet there exists an enormous mass of this kind of literature in manuscript which yet awaits handling by some expert critic.

At the end, I would propose to make one general observation after this sketchy survey of the sources of Rajasthan

History. Unfortunately, the history of Rajasthan has either been written from the imperialistic standpoint, as by Col. Tod, or its events have been narrated by historians under the pressure of the princes of the States, direct or indirect. But now in our Free India, with so much of the material at our disposal, it is expected of us that a more positive, free, constructive and critical approach be adopted to illuminate the brilliant and glorious deeds of the people of the land of heroes.

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SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL RAJASTHAN

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THE STONES OF RAJASTHAN speak of the history of a chivalrous race whose glory did not end with the debacle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. During the early medieval period the valorous Rajputs offered stubborn resistance to the Muslim aggressors. In most cases the resistance was offered by individual rulers. The romantic story of their heroic resistance has been handed down to us through inscriptions on memorials (Debals) or literary works known as heroic poems (the *Rasos*, *Geets*, *Kavitas*) which had been composed to commemorate the heroric deeds of martyrs by court poets popularly known in Rajasthan as *Charans*¹ and *Bhats*.² Efforts have been made by historians to make use of available epigraphic and literary evidences in their specialised studies. Still there is much yet to be discovered and used to fill up the gaps and to enable us to write a really comprehensive history of the region.

Dr. G. N. Sharma has compiled a list of sources, which he utilised in his two learned works, *Merwar and the Mughal Emperors* and *Social Life of Medieval Rajasthan*, in a booklet entitled *A Bibliography of Medieval Rajasthan*, published in 1965 from Agra. Dr. P. Saran took pains to publish a *Descriptive Catalogue of Non-Persian Sources of Medieval Indian History*, which, in my opinion, is most important for students of Rajasthan's history, as it fills in the gaps of Dr. L. P. Tessitori's *Survey of the Bardic Chronicles of Rajasthan*. Still, an humble effort has been made in the present paper to discuss the relative historical value of Rajasthani and Persian sources in the light of new sources utilised by me in my thesis, *Marwar*

and the Mughal Emperors and two other books (in Hindi) on the history of Rajasthan.

Modern scholars are of the opinion that Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* served as a source of inspiration for historical writings³ in Rajasthan. For example, *Vamshavalis*, *Vigats*, *Vartas* and *Khyats* in medieval Rajasthan were composed under the patronage of Rajasthan rulers to supply information to the court historians. Similarly, views have been expressed by several historians that Rajasthani literature of pre-medieval times badly lacked in chronological sense and accuracy of dates. On the other hand, examples from contemporary works have been extensively quoted by Dr. Dasharath Sharma to prove that no Persian source can give us better information on varied aspects of medieval Rajasthan's history and culture than what is given in Padmanabha's *Kanharde Prabandh* or *Vachanika* of Achaldas Khichi.⁵ To the best of my knowledge and information both the works were written more than a century before *Akbarnama* or *Ain-i-Akbari*. "The special utility of these books lies in the fact that not only did they describe a political event but delineated also the social and religious atmosphere which conditioned the entire episode." Thus the art of composing historical poems was not unknown to the people of Rajasthan before the sixteenth century. *Hammirayana* of Bhandau Vyas,⁶ *Buddhi Raso*,⁷ *Bisaldeo Raso*⁸ and *Rao Jetasi Ram Chhand*⁹ were composed earlier than Abul Fazl's works.

It is not easy to refute the second charge of lack of chronology and accuracy. Consistent inaccuracies in dates are found in Bardic Chronicles. But there are exceptions. *Gunrupak*,¹⁰ a Manuscript of Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur, composed by Keshav Dass, describes the date of the death of Raja Sur Singh in graphic words. Dates given in a Courtier's diary discovered from Khimsar Thikana, which has been named as Brijlal Pancholy Manuscript, are more accurate than in any other historical work. *Prithvi Raj Vijay* by Jayanik is perhaps the earliest work which gives the correct date of birth of Prithviraj Chauhan. Examples can be multiplied to refute the charge of 'demonstrably inaccurate' dates in the Bardic Chronicles of Rajasthan. If a scholar peeps into them with the object of

knowing what happened, and how it happened, he will not be disappointed to find profitable information in the Bardic Chronicles. The date of the battle fought between Sher Shah and Rao Maldeo has been determined on the basis of two well known *Khyats* of Marwar—the *Nensi Khyat* and the *Jodhpur Rajya Khyat*. The Bardic Chronicles present the Rajput point of view. More often than not more detailed accounts are given in them than anywhere else, e.g., details about Sher Shah's march against Maldeo in 1543 are made available to us from the *Jodhpur Khyat* only. It helps us to determine the power and position of Rao Maldeo who has been described as the most potent Prince of (sixteenth century) Hindusthan by Ferishta and others. Thus, an impartial researcher will find much valuable matter in Rajasthani works to supplement his information derived from other sources. With this background I venture to discuss the relative importance of Rajasthani and Persian sources.

The history of Rajasthan in the context of medieval Indian History has been studied mainly on the basis of Persian Chronicles which were easily available to scholars. Recently, of course, there has been a tendency to refer to works by Tod, Ojha and Kaviraj Shyamal Dass. A few have also taken pains to refer to important works like *Dalpat Vilas*. But the recurring use of Persian works has made us so much biased against local sources that we would like to corroborate the information of a near-contemporary native source with a comparatively later Persian work. It is an admitted fact that barring a few works like *Fatuhāt-i-Alamgiri* or *Insha-i-Chandrabhan* most of the Persian Chronicles depict the Muslim point of view. Naturally, the point of view of the other party has not been given its due place in Persian works. But if the history of the region is to be better known, works quoted below need to be studied carefully for the sake of : (i) knowing greater details about the happenings ; (ii) knowing the point of view of the vanquished ; and (iii) knowing the part played by the nobles and/or the common men in their struggle for preserving their race, religion and culture. Then only a

comprehensive history of the region can be written which can inspire us all.

Col. Tod made use of Bardic Chronicles. But he was prejudiced against them to the extent that in the preface of his book he wrote, "There is a sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, a barter of solid pudding against empty praise, whereby the fidelity of the poetic chronicle is somewhat impaired". Tod's doubt in the accuracy of bardic chronicles tempted Kaviraja Shyamal Dass to attempt a more comprehensive history of Rajasthan based on all available sources—Epigraphic, Archaeological and Literary. As such, *Virvinod* is now considered to be a mine of historical information. Dr. G. H. Ojha's volumes, though primarily based on local sources, presented a balanced view of the picture. But in subsequent works emphasis was laid either on Rajasthani sources or on Persian Chronicles. Hence, a serious problem was posed before scholars in recent years. Dr. Dasharath Sharma hinted about it in his Presidential Address at the Third Session of the Rajasthan History Congress. His opinion is that vivid and graphic descriptions are available in works like *Kanharde Prabhandh* which can be favourably compared with any Persian work. As I have said earlier, I believe that sometimes accurate details are also found in local sources which are of vital importance for students of Rajasthan history. The details help us in filling up the gaps. *Mewar and Mughal Emperors* by Dr. G. N. Sharma and my own humble work are examples of a careful blending of Persian and Rajasthani sources. The rise and consolidation of the erstwhile states of Mewar and Marwar in medieval India has been traced in the works quoted above. A balanced view of the political relationship between the Rajput rulers and their contemporary Muslim monarchs has been presented.

I admit, it is not easy to undertake field surveys in search of unknown sources to throw new light on events. But one can certainly make use of recent publications based on hitherto unknown sources. To elucidate the point, I may refer to *Vachnika Rathor Ratan Singhji-ri-Maheshdasot-ri* by Khadia Jagga, which has now been published. It gives more detailed informa-

tion about the battle of Dharmat and Maharaja Jaswant Singh's role in it than Aqil Khan's *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* or Mir Masum's *Tarikh-i-Shahshujai*. The so-called 'Brijlal Pancholy' Manuscript helps us in knowing the routes in medieval India from Agra to Ujjain, from Ujjain to Jodhpur, etc., etc. No Persian work throws light on this topography because it was concerned only with Maharaja Jaswant Singh and his state. While writing a chapter on the history of Amber for my *History of Rajasthan* in 1964-65, I was faced with a serious problem which could not be solved either by *Akbarnamah* or by *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Abul Fazl writes that after the death of Raja Bharmall of Amber, *Tika* was given to his heir-apparent Bhagwant Dass while Jahangir in his Memoirs mentions Bhagwan Dass as the successor of Bharmall. The earlier historians took both of them as one and the same person, while the genealogical table of the Kachchwahas depict them as two brothers. The problem was solved by me in a paper published in the *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajamundry. Examples can be multiplied to prove that a balanced corroboration of Persian and Rajasthani sources is essential to write a true history of the region. It will be unhistorical to depend on one and ignore the other.

Sources which have been extensively used in modern research works :

Biographies of the Mughal Emperors, official histories like *Daftar-i-Abul Fazl*, the *Padshahnamahs* and *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, and Chronicles by private persons like Badayuni, Ishar Dass Nagar, Munshi Chandra Bhan and others have been copiously quoted in research works without knowing the fact that Abul Fazl and Badayuni hailed from Nagor and Bhusawar respectively and so their information about the topography of the region was more reliable than that of others. It is a misfortune that many scholars who have made use of these works are unfamiliar with the Persian language. So, they depended on English translations in their oft-quoted works. I have pointed out in *Marwar and the Mughal Emperors* that

many of these translators committed mistakes in their English renderings which made their narrative more confused.

In recent years the tendency to use the Rajasthani sources has become quite popular, and many scholars are drawing upon *Khyats*, *Vartas*, *Vigats*, and *Vamshavalis* to fill up the gaps. Thus, the tradition laid down by Ojha, Reu and Asopa has been followed by many, down to our own times.

Similarly, extensive and intensive use of Archival documents has been made in research works : *Farmans*, *Nishans*, *Vakil Reports*, *Kharitas*, *Bahies* and *Akhbarats*, *Darbar-i-Maula*. More than once a Persian Manuscript entitled *Waqaya-Sarkar Ajmer and Ranthambhor* by an anonymous writer has been used by Researchers. Its interpretation with respect to Aurangzeb's Rajput policy has led to controversies which were cleared by one of my students in a paper published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta. It shows that the anxiety to tap new sources for reconstructing the history of feudal Rajasthan is also fraught with serious problems.

Some Less Known Sources—(a) Rajasthani Sources :

Kehar Prakash deals with the life of Kesari Singh Chauhan. A great many historical stories connected with the incidents in the life of the hero have been recorded in it. It also furnishes details about arts of wrestling, archery, swordsmanship, etc., which can help us to know about the military system of the Rajputs. It is preserved in Rajasthan Vidyapeeth Sahitya Samsthan, Udaipur. *Chakatta-ki-Patiahi Ki Paramparaya* by an anonymous writer is a late eighteenth century work which helps us in getting detailed information about Maharaja Madho Singh of Amber (1760-1768). It is preserved in very good condition in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur. The *Khyat Vat Sangrah* of Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur, is a fine collection of the *Khyats* of Sisodias of Mewar, Chauhans, Kachhawahs and Bhatias of Jaisalmer.

If *Rathora-Ri-Khyat* by Gambhir Mal had been used in a work like the *Comprehensive History of India*, Volume V, more light would have been thrown on the Rathor rulers of Marwar. Similarly, *Rathoran Ri Vamshavali Ri Khyat* preserved in the

Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, is perhaps a more comprehensive work than the *Jodhpur Raja Ki Khyat*.

Marwar Ra Rathor Sardar ji Khanp ri Pidhiyan Gaur Vagere ri Vigat, preserved in the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, supplements the information of Nensi's *Gwan-ri-Vigat* which has now been published by the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.

Kibit Prithviraj Chauhan Ko (preserved in Shri Digamber Jain Mandir, Jaipur) helps us in determining the age of the Fort of Nagor which is said to have been founded by Prithviraj.

Badshahi hal ke Prakirna Patra preserved in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, deals with the political history of medieval India in general and Rajasthan in particular from 1597 to 1658 A.D. The account closes abruptly with Jaswant Singh's flight from Khajwah.

Samudra Manthan by Kalyan of Bikaner gives information about the foundation of various cities and forts and erection of temples by the rulers of medieval Rajasthan.

Examples can be multiplied to prove that as yet all available sources have not been utilised by scholars who have followed in the footsteps of G. H. Ojha, Pandit B. N. Reu and others.

(b) *Persian Works* :

1. *Akhbarats* of Rajrana Zalim Singh (photostat preserved in Raghubir Library, Sitamau) have been used by Dr. S. K. Mehra in determining the political relationship between Amir Khan Pindari and Zalim Singh Jhala. But these *Akhbarats* can also help us in revising our opinion about the Rajput-Maratha relations.

2. *Tareekh-i-Rajasthan* by Kali Ram Kayastha of Ajmer is a late eighteenth century work which is preserved in Saeedia Library, Tonk. It helps us in reconstructing the history of inter-State relations during the eighteenth century.

3. *Dhakhirat-ul-Khawain* by Shaikh Farid Bhakhari is a biographic dictionary of the Mughal nobility which was compiled at least a century before Shah Nawaz Khan's *Maathir-ul-Umara*. I have tried to attract the attention of modern scholars to this document in the bibliography of my thesis *Marwar and the Mughal*

Emperors. Since this extremely rare work has now been published, researchers may try to gather valuable information which may also be corroborated from Kewal Ram's *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*.

4. *Ajaib-ul-Afaq* is a collection of letters written by the rulers of Rajasthan to Chhabila Ram Nagar during the first half of the eighteenth century. I have used it in a study of Maharaja Ajeet Singh's relations with Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar. Its photostat copy is available in Raghubir Library, Sitamau.

APPENDIX

Contemporary Literary terms explained :

Raso : Poems composed to commemorate heroic deeds were popularly known as *Rasos*. But the war theme alone did not form the subject matter of *Raso*, for example, *Sandesh Raso* does not contain information about war. *Prithviraj Raso* also describes in details Sanyukta's marriage with Prithviraj Chauhan.

According to Muni Jin Vijaya, 'Raso' composition came into vogue during the twelfth century (vide Muniji's editorial note on *Puratanprabandha Sangrah* and *Samdesh Raskam*).

Kavita or *Chhand* is a laudatory poem which was composed to eulogize the characters and achievements of notable men or to recount traditional tales or anecdotes. It dealt with all subjects which might have played a role in history.

Vamshavalis are dynastic lists of rulers maintained by Badve Bhats and persons belonging to the Jage Caste. *Vamshavalis* of high born persons were also maintained.

Khyat is an enlarged form of *Vamshavali*. It is a detailed and systematic historical writing in prose.

Kharitas were official letters exchanged among the rulers or between a ruler and his Jagirdars. *Parwana* was an order, a letter from a man in power to a dependent, a customs house permit or pass, an order for the possession of an estate or an

assignment of revenue. *Rukka* was a letter, a draft, a bill, a written promise or contract.

Sanad was a grant, a diploma, a charter, a patent, a document conveying to an individual emoluments, titles, privileges, offices or the government rights to revenue from land, etc.

Arsatta means an estimate, a rough calculation, a treasury account of receipts and disbursements made up from the daily entries.

Vakil reports were the diplomatic correspondence received by almost every Rajput ruler from his vigilance officer, the *Vakil*. *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Maula* were the official records of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb and those of his three successors, Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar. *Akhbarats*, being the daily diary of the Imperial Court, give us valuable information. They are available in the Rajasthan State Archives and also in Raghuvir Library, Sitamau.

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- ¹ Usually *Charans* and *Bhats* are confused with each other. But both formed different castes ; their locations also differed from each other.

John Malcolm described Charans : "They rank as the genealogists of proud and ignorant chiefs ; favoured individuals who often combined with that office the station of counsellors, and established an ascendancy over the minds of their superior, which is stronger from being granted upon a mysterious feeling of awe. It is to them that the proudest Rajput looks for solace in adversity, and for increased joy and exultation in prosperity" (*A Memoir of Central India*, Vol. I, pp. 517-18).

The important position occupied by the Charan community in Rajput society has been described by Surajmal Mishra, author of *Vamshabhaskar*, by Kaviraja Shyamal Dass in *Vir Vinod* and by Dr. K. R. Qanungo in *Studies in Rajput History*. According to them a Charan was an equal partner of his Raja both in war and peace.

- ² According to a seventeenth century writer, Pandit Sripal, who composed *Kumud Chandragita* in 1734 V.S., the Bhats were to

maintain genealogical history of Rajput families which was recited at public functions. They formed a class by themselves and earned their livelihood by pen.

³ Vide Dr. G. N. Sharma's article published in *Studies in Modern Indian History* (p. 32) published by the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta.

⁴ Vide *The Delhi Sultanate* published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 349.

⁵ Vide Dr. Dashrath Sharma's Presidential Address at the Third Session of the Rajasthan History Congress at Udaipur.

⁶ It was composed during the fifteenth century. It has been noticed by Agar Chand Nahata in the *Marubharati*, IV, Part II, p. 44.

⁷ It was composed by Jallah in or about the year 1568 A.D. It has been noticed by Agar Chand Nahata and Bhanwar Lal Nahata in their work *Itihasika Jain Kavya Sangraha* (p. 138), and by Dr. M. L. Menariya in *Rajasthani Bhasha aur Sahitya* (p. 121). It deals with, in 140 verses, the love episode of a Prince of Champavati Nagari.

⁸ It was composed by a Gujarati poet named Narapati during the sixteenth century. It helps us to know about Bishaldeo Vigraharaja III of Ajmer. It has been noticed in *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 163-171, and by Dr. Menariya in his above mentioned book, pp. 85-90.

⁹ It was composed by Vothu Sujo, a Court poet of Bikaner ruler Rao Jetasi, during the first half of the sixteenth century. It is preserved in Anup Library, Bikaner. Rao Jetasi's victory over the Mughal Prince Kamran is described in it.

¹⁰ It is a dingal poem of about 1,000 verses which was composed in or about the year 1624 A.D. by Keshavdas to commemorate the reign of Raja Gajsingh of Marwar. I have used it in *Marwar the Mughal Emperors*. The original is well preserved in Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur.

¹¹ Edited by Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau.

¹² Copy available in Raghubir Library, Sitamau.

MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS AS A SOURCE OF EARLY MEDIEVAL RAJASTHAN HISTORY

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THE EMERGENCE of Muslims on the political scene of India brought them face to face with a number of local dynasties, the most powerful among whom were the various Rajput tribes who had by this time carved out a number of independent and powerful principalities inside and outside Rajasthan.

A struggle for supremacy was, therefore, a logical sequence, which was effectively carried on by a number of Rajput families stretched over the various parts of the modern state of Rajasthan and elsewhere. Needless to say that the resistance of the Rajputs continued during the whole period of Muslim rule in India. The tale of resistance is preserved in a number of chronicles and inscriptions, Persian as well as non-Persian, which considerably help us in knowing the history and chronology of the Muslim rule in Rajasthan.

For the study of a particular region or dynasty, the inscriptions and other contemporary literature form the primary source of information. Epigraphic evidence helps considerably in reconstructing the history of the period and sometimes forms the only source of information.

It is well known that not much reliable information is available about the early phase of Muslim expansion in Rajasthan. Unfortunately, the Persian chroniclers too have been either ignorant or careless about the events in Rajasthan. This is true even in the case of standard Persian histories like those of Hasan Nizami, Minhaj, Zia-ud-din Barani, Amir Khusrau, Afif, Yahya Sirhandi, Niamatullah and many others.

Although many Muslim inscriptions are available from

various parts of Rajasthan, dating back from the period of the Delhi Sultans, these are in certain cases not only the only source of information but have even helped to correct medieval Rajasthan history by exposing the legendary character of the bardic accounts,¹ which have been generally accepted as true in the absence of proper history.

An attempt has been made in the present paper to study the available inscriptions found in various parts of Rajasthan as a source for the history of the medieval period. The present paper is confined to the study of Muslim epigraphy as a source for the history of Rajasthan and the period has been strictly limited from the thirteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, i.e., the period of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Fortunately, Rajasthan is a treasure house of inscriptions which are spread over throughout the length and breadth of the state. A large number of them have been discovered and edited during the past few decades. These have not only helped in filling up some of the important gaps but have also in some cases unearthed a number of Rajput ruling houses, which otherwise would have been left unrecorded due to the absence of any reference in the contemporary literature.

A number of scholars like Bhandarkar, Ojha, Sircar, Dashrath Sharma, Halder and Agrawala have either edited or based their researches on Sanskrit inscription from Rajasthan. Still a large number of inscriptions are lying unexplored or need careful editing. The same is true with regard to Arabic and Persian inscriptions from Rajasthan. Although a number of Muslim inscriptions have been unearthed and noticed or edited in the volumes of *Archaeological Survey Reports*, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and *Epigraphia Indica : Arabic and Persian Supplements* and *Annual Reports of Indian Epigraphy*, by eminent epigraphists like Cunningham, Yazdani, Chagtai, Bhukhari and Desai, yet no serious attempt has ever been made to utilize the inscriptions for reconstructing or corroborating the history of Rajasthan.

The discovery of Arabic and Persian inscriptions undoubtedly proves that the Muslim rulers or their lieutenants succeeded in exerting their influence partly or wholly at least over the region

around the find spots of the epigraphs. This is true in many cases where the epigraphs record the construction of mosques or other edifices by individual Muslims who might have held respectable positions in the region around the find spots of the Muslim inscriptions.

A look at the early medieval Muslim inscriptions from Rajasthan reveals that north-eastern, central and south-western parts of Rajasthan abound in Arabic and Persian inscriptions, whereas in south-eastern and north-western parts inscriptions have not so far been found. Some of the important find spots of these epigraphic records include places like Alwar, Bharatpur, Bayana, Amber, Chakan, Naraina, Sambhar, Ajmer, Tordi, Didwana, Khatu, Nagaur, Jodhpur, Marwar, Jalor, Chittorgarh, etc.

Since our aim is not to confine ourselves to a general survey of the available epigraphs, it would be appropriate here to study the importance of the Muslim epigraphy as a source for the history of Rajasthan. The Arabic and Persian inscriptions under study which number about 86 range throughout the period of the Delhi Sultans. The earliest inscription during the period under review is, unfortunately, fragmentary. It is dated A.H. 594² and gives the titles of an official whose name is lost during the period of Sultan Shihabud-din Muhammad Ghori. The find spot of the inscription, Nagaur, suggests that the area was one of the earliest possessions of the Muslims in Rajasthan. Chronologically also, the inscription is perhaps the earliest to be found so far in the State.

That the construction of mosques was an usual feature followed by the Muslims after the conquest of a principality is known from a number of inscriptions at *Adhai din ka Jhopra* mosque in Ajmer, the earliest of which is dated 21st Jamadi. A.H. 595³ and the last, though undated, was certainly before 1236 A.D. since it records that the building was ordered by Sultan Shamsud-din Iltutmish.⁴ The inscription gives his title as *Sultan-us shar Abul Muzaffar Iltutmish*. Similarly, two other inscriptions of Sultan Iltutmish's reign have been found over the *Chausath* and *Assi Khamba* mosques,⁵ both in Bharatpur territory, which indicate that the Turkish Sultans had at least tempo-

rarily held sway over the area extending from Bharatpur to Ajmer and that there must have been Muslim colonies or garrisons surely at the cost of the local Rajput chiefs.⁶

The medieval state of Marwar appears to have been carved out by the Rathor chiefs gradually and perhaps on a very limited scale. This was perhaps due to the expansionist designs of the Sultans of Delhi, as is evident from a large number of Muslim inscriptions from various parts of the Marwar region. It would be interesting to note that out of the total 86 inscriptions studied here, 36 have been found in various parts of erstwhile Marwar, notably Nagaur, Khatu, Jalor, Ladnu and Mandor.

The find spot of the earliest available Muslim inscription from Rajasthan dated A.H. 594 is also from Nagaur.⁷ Most of the other epigraphs record either the dates of the erection of mosques or other edifices or the names of the Sultans and other officials who were perhaps associated with the administration of the regions around the find spots of the inscriptions.

The epigraphic evidence is supported by several other sources which furnish details about the fall of Marwar principalities of Siwana, Jalor, Sanchor, etc., during the rule of Sultan Alaud-din Khalji.⁸ That the Sultan had effectively held the Marwar principality is known from a Persian tablet fixed inside the wall of a mosque near a temple at Jalor fort. It is dated 5th Muharram, A.H. 718,⁹ and records its construction by one Malik Tajud-din who apparently was Malik of the same name who held the province of Gujarat during the period of Sultan Mubarak Shah Khalji.¹⁰

This is further supported by the fact that even the Sanskrit epigraphs of the period referred to the acknowledgement of the overlordship of Sultan Alaud-din Khalji over Marwar. A slab in a village well at Pandukha, about four miles east of Phalodi, dated 1358 A.D., refers to the reign of Sultan Alaud-din Khalji, who is further recorded to have established at Merta probably his Viceroy named Tajud-din Ali, whose long Persian titles are given in Sanskritised form.¹¹

As early as 1293 we find a mosque in Mandor with an ins-

cription of Sultan Jalalud-din Feroz Khalji, which probably refers to his Pali invasion of 1291, after which the mosque was apparently built.¹² Similarly, a mosque in Jalor, now known as *Topkhana*, is said to have been built by Sultan Alaud-din Khalji, to commemorate his victory over Jalor.¹³ In Jalor itself, there is another Persian inscription of 5th Muharram, A.H. 718, which testifies to the conquest of Jalor and appointment of one Nusrat Beg there.¹⁴

It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the Khalji annexation of territories like Siwana, Sanchor, Jalor, Mandor, etc., definitely put a check on the expansionist designs of the Rathor chiefs. This must have come as a severe blow to the newly established Rathor kingdom when the Rathor chiefs had hardly been able to carve out their independent kingdom in Marwar. The Muslim inscriptions are also indispensable pieces of evidence for the local and regional history of places like Nagaur, Khatu, Ajmer, Bayana, etc.

The Muslim inscriptions have also helped to correct the legendary accounts in a number of cases. An important inscription in Persian found from Chitor fort, though fragmentary, is extremely useful for clearing the mystery shrouded around the history of Chitor after its fall in 1303 A.D. The undated inscription (gives only the date, 1st Jumadi) records the construction of a mosque by Malik Asadud-din during the reign of Sultan Ghyasud-din Tughluq.¹⁵ Malik Asadud-din Arslan was apparently the nephew of the Sultan and held the post of *Naib Barbak* in 720 A.H. 1320 A.D. From his present as well as another inscription found in the *Ghaybi pir* tomb at Chitor,¹⁶ we know that he was already the governor of Chitor under his uncle's regime and probably held the same post at least up to the period of the accession of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

It should be recalled here that the bardic accounts¹⁷ mention that Maldeo Chauhan, the second son of Kanhada Deva, soon after the fall of Jalor (1312 A.D.), became refractory and Sultan Alaud-din Khalji is reported to have reconciled Maldeo by enlisting him as his vassal and bestowing on him the kingdom of Chitor. Maldeo, it is further stated, held Chitor for seven years till his death. The entire story, however, loses its ground

with the discovery of the above mentioned two Muslim inscriptions. Malik Asad-ud-din of these inscriptions held Chitor in the capacity of a governor and perhaps continued in the post at least up to the accession of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. Although Asadud-din is not known to have succeeded any previous governor, he took charge of Chitor from a Muslim governor of pre-Tughluq rule. For a fresh appointment would certainly imply reconquest, which is otherwise not known.¹⁸

The above inscriptions bear enough testimony to the direct control of the Sultans of Delhi over Chitor and refute the story of Khizr Khan's replacement by Maldeo Chauhan.

Apart from this, a set of Muslim inscriptions goes a long way in giving the chronology and history of the only known semi-independent Muslim ruling house of Bayana during the period under review. In the absence of these inscriptions it would have been difficult for us to know about the Auhadi chiefs of Bayana who carved out a semi-independent Sultanate at the close of the fourteenth century. Bayana, which was held by Kuwarpala, the Yadava ruler, was reduced by the combined forces of Shihabud-din Muhammad Ghori and Qutubud-din Aibak at the close of the twelfth century. Although the Muslim sources like *Tajul Maasir* and *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and others mention that after its capture Bayana was entrusted to Malik Bahaud-din Tughril whose name is fortunately preserved in an inscription of A.H. 600 found in Kaman fort¹⁹ (near Bharatpur), not much is known about the subsequent history of the principality.

Fortunately, the Muslim hold over territories like Bharatpur, Dholpur, Karauli and parts of Alwar district is known from a number of Muslim inscriptions like the one undated inscription from the *Assi Khamba*²⁰ mosque in Bharatpur. It records Sultan Shamsud-din Iltutmish to be the builder of the mosque. Another inscription of 1st Ramzan, A.H. 669,²¹ mentions Balban as well as Nusrat Khan, obviously Nusratud-din Sher Khan Sankar, who it appears continued to hold the principality of Bayana up to at least the date of the epigraph. That the territory of Bayana continued in the possession of the Khalji and Tughluq rulers is evident from a number of epigraphs, notably

of A.H. 705 from *Kazion Ki Masjid*, Bayana,²² and of A.H. 718 from *Jhalar Baoli*²³ and *Ukha Masjid* in Bayana.²⁴

A Persian inscription dated A.H. 803 is perhaps the only epigraph recording the impact of Timur's invasion on the eastern parts of Rajasthan. The inscription refers to the chaos and hardships caused by the invasion, obviously that of Timur, and to the desertion of the fort by the people who fled to the adjoining fortress of Tahangarh.²⁵ The invasion of Timur not only gave a blow to the already tottering Tughluq kingdom but also gave a chance to the Auhadi chief, Shamas Khan, to assert his independence over the eastern regions of Rajasthan, with his headquarters at Bayana.

The Auhadi chief, like many other military adventurers, took advantage of the invasion of Timur and asserted his independence. That Bayana continued to be held by the Auhadi chiefs is known from an inscription of A.H. 820,²⁶ which is perhaps the earliest available inscription of this Muslim ruling house. The assertion of independence by Auhadi chiefs forced the Sayid and the Lodi rulers to march repeatedly against Bayana but without much success. This is confirmed by a bilingual inscription consisting of one line in Persian at the top followed by nine lines in Nagri below. The name of Muhammad Khan (Auhadi) is clearly readable in both the scripts.²⁷

That the Auhadi chiefs held Bayana till at least the coming of the Mughals is known from an inscription of Nizam Khan, son of Mujahid Khan.²⁸ This Nizam Khan is the last Auhadi chief who joined the confederacy under Rana Sanga and Hasan Khan of Mewat in opposing the forces of Babur.²⁹

Thanks to the Muslim epigraphic evidence relating to the principality of Bayana, we come to know of the only semi-independent Muslim ruling house in Rajasthan during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi.

A study of Persian inscriptions of the individual Muslims during the period under review would reveal that a number of Muslims, including Saints and Sufis,³⁰ had peacefully settled in various parts of Rajasthan. These may considerably help in reconstructing the social and religious history of the period.

A Persian inscription dated 1st Rabi, A.H. 730, from

Hindaun, in Swai Madhopur district, records the construction of a building by one Begum Samru, daughter of Mandu Afghan and wife of late Mulukish Sharq Ikhtiyarud-din Muhammad Afghan.³¹ The inscription not only shows the connection of the Afghan chiefs with the administration of Hindaun, but even indicates that many Afghan families might have come and settled peacefully in various parts of Rajasthan, some of whom held important offices.³²

Yet another set of Muslim inscriptions from Rajasthan indicates the construction of works of public utility like tanks or baolis,³³ wells,³⁴ gateways,³⁵ etc., by both officials and individual Muslims. Many details of administrative history may also be checked and corrected from a number of Muslim epigraphs recording various postings in Rajasthan as well as administrative terms and titles used in these epigraphic records.³⁶

It would thus be seen that epigraphic evidence is quite reliable and helpful, specially when specific dates are given. The records referred to in this paper can be relied upon as authentic contemporary documents on the political history of the territories under Muslim rule.³⁷ A detailed analysis and documentation of medieval Muslim inscriptions from Rajasthan is an urgent need, since these may help us considerably in filling up a number of gaps in regional history and may give us a better and more accurate glimpse of the history of early medieval Rajasthan.

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- ²³ G. Yazdani, *E.I.M.*, 1917-18, pp. 39-40.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42 ; and Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.
- ²⁵ Noticed in *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1955-56 ; Z. A. Desai, *E.I.* (A.P.S.), 1967, p. 24.
- ²⁶ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
- ²⁷ The text reads, *Fi Ahde-daulat masnade Ali Khan*.
- ²⁸ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
- ²⁹ For details see 'Bayana during the Sultanate of Delhi', *Rajasthan History Congress*, Udaipur, 1969.
- ³⁰ Y. K. Bukhari, *E.I.* (A.P.S.), 1953-54, pp. 14-17.
- ³¹ Z. A. Desai, *op. cit.*, 1957-58, pp. 34-35.
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ The construction of a tank named Feroz Sagar is recorded in an undated inscription from Khatu (*I.A.—A Rev.* 1962-63, p. 61). See also inscription of A.H. 902 for the construction of a Baoli at Bharatpur (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

³⁴ See inscription of Didwana, dated 840 A.H. (*E.I.M.*, 1949-50, p. 21).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56; *E.I.M.*, 1949-50, pp. 18; *E. I. (A.P.S.)*, 1955-56, p. 72; *I.A.—A Review*, 1965-66, p. 22; *E.I.M.*, 1937-38, p. 6; *E. I. (A.P.S.)*, 1967, pp. 9 and 12; and *ibid.*, 1953-54, pp. 14-17.

³⁷ Z. A. Desai, *E. I. (A.P.S.)*, p. 2.

Modern Period

SOURCES OF THE MODERN HISTORY OF RAJASTHAN

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THE PERIOD from the closing years of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth was one of critical transition in the history of the Rajputs. It saw the virtual break-up of the clan-centered semi-feudal structure of medieval Rajasthan and the foundation of a new political set up under British paramountcy. The fall of the Mughal Empire and the expansion of the Maratha power shattered the political fabric reared by Akbar's genius. This paved the way for the inclusion of the Rajput states, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings, within the expanding zone of British imperialism in modern India. Rajputana indeed succumbed to the logic of Indian history in those days of sweeping changes.

But her age-old cultural tradition of historical writing survived the process of the disintegration of her outworn medieval polity. It was in keeping with this tradition that Tod, who may be called the Herodotus of modern Rajasthan, wrote his classic work *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (published between 1829 and 1832). The modern historical study of Rajasthan in a systematic way was thus started by him at the very time when this 'Land of Rajas' was on the threshold of its modern age. Further references to his precious contribution will be made in due course.

There is no dearth of source-materials for the reconstruction of the modern history of Rajasthan. Rather these are too many. A great bulk of the materials is in English. These are also available in Oriental languages, such as Persian, Hindi, Marathi

and Urdu, as also in different dialects of Rajasthan. Further, the materials are varied in form and character. They consist of Correspondence, Notes, Minutes and Memoranda, Treaties and Agreements, Administrative and other Reports, Revenue Records, News-sheets, Travel Accounts, etc. They embrace both public and private papers. This huge stuff, again, lies scattered in different repositories both in this country and in the United Kingdom, viz., Record offices, big public libraries, old universities and private possession. Broadly speaking, the history of modern Rajasthan may be reconstructed on the basis of materials derived from the following sources : (a) Unpublished Documents (chiefly available at different archives), (b) Published Records, and (c) Contemporary or Semi-Contemporary Secondary Works.

At the very outset, reference must be made to the voluminous records deposited in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, upon which we have to rely largely for writing the history of Rajasthan in modern times. One of the important series of materials in its custody is the *Persian Correspondence* relating to the East India Company's political and diplomatic transactions with Indian powers and other notables. The Persian letters and news-sheets (*Akhbarat*) received by the Company's Government, along with replies to them, were recorded in a register in the form of abridged English translations. The Persian news-reports were even sent together with English or Marathi despatches. Unfortunately the original Persian news-letters despatched from Delhi, Jaipur and other capitals to the Company's Government at Calcutta during the eighteenth century are lost. But their English translations done at the time are available. The *Akhbarats* in the late eighteenth century bear resemblance to the news-columns of our old English Weeklies before the days of the introduction of telegraph. The establishment of British political supremacy in the early years of the nineteenth century marked a decline in the authenticity and importance of the Persian news-letters. As Sir J. N. Sarkar puts it, "the word Akhbar gained a disreputable name for false rumours". The *Calendars of Persian Correspondence*, which have been published by the Imperial Record Department, now called the National

Archives of India, are the abridged English translations of the aforesaid Persian letters and news-sheets.

Incidentally, it may be stated that valuable collections of Persian manuscripts are also available at such places in India as the Rajasthan State Archives, Asiatic Society of Bengal, National Library, Khudabakhsh Oriental Public Library of Patna, Raghuvir Library of Sitamau, Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mondal and the Alienation Office both at Poona. Among British repositories of important Persian source-materials mention may be made of the British Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society and the India Office Library (now the Commonwealth Relations Office Library) in London.

For the modern history of Rajasthan, over and above the Persian materials, we have a host of English records in the custody of the National Archives. Of the latter, the Foreign Department papers are by far the most important. They are variously classified such as Secret, Political, General and Miscellaneous. They comprise despatches, minutes and memoranda, notes, treaties and agreements, etc. In the beginning, Secret Consultations related to more important and confidential affairs of diplomatic relations, while the Political Series covered all other concerns regarding the Princes. The volumes of the Secret Consultations decreased in size after 1817-18, and the information about political matters in later years is to be sought mostly in the Political Consultations. The Letters to and from (a) the Court of Directors, and (b) the Secretary of State deal with questions of policy. The voluminous papers of the Foreign Department concerning Rajasthan under British suzerainty touch upon such varied matters as the admission of the Rajput states to the British system, relations between the Rajput chiefs and nobles, the supreme power's right of intervention in the event of misgovernment, protection of the Princes' treaty rights, deposition or enforced abdication, right of adoption, tribute, interstate relations, suppression of predatory associations and Thugs, extradition of criminals, *sati*, manufacture of salt, Malwa opium traffic problems, abolition of transit duties, railways, telegraph, etc.

The Foreign Miscellaneous Records are good many and quite important, though they fall outside the regular series of the departmental proceedings. Sometimes they include documents or copies of documents, referred to or embodied in the latter. Demi-official and Private letters as well as Notes and Papers which could not be properly included in the proceedings are also included in this category of records. The Diaries of Lockett and Boileau, falling within this group, contain highly valuable material for the military, geographical, economic, social and political aspects of the history of Rajasthan. They give innumerable facts appertaining to the climatic conditions, important forts, mines, minerals, industries, population, customs, social organisation, etc. Copious information is also available regarding the rise of the chiefs of Alwar, Khetri, Sikar and Shekhawati.

Under the programme of centralisation of the documents of the defunct Political Residencies, the Rajputana Residency records, otherwise known as Rajputana Agency Office Records, have been collected at the National Archives. These valuable Residency records throw light upon different aspects of the history of Rajasthan during the British period. Further, the Archives has acquired in microfilm a large number of private papers from British Record offices, which may also be profitably made use of. By the way, it may be stated that some of its Foreign Department documents pertaining to Rajasthan as also of its Rajputana Residency records are obtainable among the published materials which will be subsequently referred to.

Of the English records available in the U.K., a large number is in the custody of the Commonwealth Relations Office Library. Those preserved in the British Museum and the Public Records Office in London should also be looked into. Official records in their possession are more or less the same as those found in our National Archives. Besides, the British Record offices are the store-house of valuable private papers of the Governors-General and those of other dignitaries (such as Lee-Warner Papers) which may be fruitfully turned to account for the study of Rajasthan under British paramountcy. A number of private collections are preserved in the Additional Mss. of the British Museum.

There is a vast collection of historical documents in the keeping of the Directorate of Rajasthan Archives, being available at its head-quarters at Bikaner and also at its district repositories. These repositories hold in their possession the records of the erstwhile Princely states of Rajasthan and the Chief Commissioner's province of Ajmer. Numerous valuable *kharitas*, *pattas*, *parwanas* and *ruqqas* in Persian and Rajasthani are preserved in these record houses. A very large number of village records available in the forms of *Bahis*, *Khatooniss*, *chopaniyas*, *Nirakhawars*, *Chopras*, etc., throw a good deal of light upon the administrative and economic aspects of the modern history of Rajasthan. It may be stated that while the different categories of papers of Jaipur largely acquired Persian names after the Mughal pattern, those of Kota, Bundi and other states generally continued to have their "indigenous nomenclature". Briefly speaking, the records of the British period lying in the custody of this Directorate abound in information regarding boundary disputes, Jagir affairs, settlement and census operations and introduction of various reforms.

Matters relating to economic transactions, such as daily wages, rates of interest, private debts and credit accounts are embodied in the *Byaj Bahis*, *Shahar Lekha Bahis* and *Kamthana Bahis* of Bikaner Archives. The Rampuria Records of this Archives include *Talab Patta Bahis*, *Parwana Bahi*, *Chithi Khata*, *Diwanji Ki Bahi*, etc. The Bastas of Kotah Bhandars also constitute a very useful source of information in regard to economic, social and religious affairs. The *Siga Mutfarriq* papers of Kotah deal with a number of subjects including inter-state relations. The Marriage *Bahis* of different states contain information not only with regard to the marriage rites and gifts but also the relations of one house of the Rajputs with another. The official and personal activities of the rulers of Jaipur, together with an account of the social customs and ceremonies of the royal household, are stated in their *Waqaya* papers. The *Kapad Diwara* records relate to the private treasury of the rulers of Jaipur. Its *Siyah Huzur* records contain data regarding the income and expenditure of the royal household. The *Dastur Komwar* folios of Jaipur embrace such matters as the services of several indivi-

duals of the state and the favours conferred upon them.

The Marriage (*Byava*) *Bahis* of Jodhpur are included in the group of *Dastari* records. The *Portfolio files*, transferred from the old Deposit Records office of Jodhpur to the *Dastari* section, contain valuable materials for the study of inter-state relations in Rajasthan. The *Dastari* records constitute an important source of information for a detailed study of the history of Marwar. They are valuable for a study of the dialects prevalent in Rajasthan in modern times. The *Haqiqat* and *Havala Bahis* are very rich in materials relating to the different aspects of the modern history of the country—political, administrative, economic, social and cultural. Mention may also be made of the *Kharita*, *Patta* and *Parwana Bahis* as well as Land Settlement papers of Udaipur. The Neemuch papers of Ajmer too deserve attention. Valuable materials (e.g., *Praja Mandal* records) throwing light on the popular agitations and the rise of democratic forces in the present century have been collected. The council records embracing various administrative matters are likewise available. The Miscellaneous deposits are sometimes quite helpful.

Incidentally, reference may be made to an old manuscript of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, written in English about 1830 A.D., which contains a detailed account of Ajmer.

"Rajasthan is a very rich store-house of private archives in the custody of the Princes of the erstwhile states, the Jagirdars, heads of religious institutions and other individuals or groups of individuals." But unfortunately, in spite of the best but partially successful efforts of the State Archives, volumes of materials which might have been profitably utilised by research scholars have not yet been transferred to the Archives but remain locked up in the possession of their owners—the former Princes, the families of old *Diwans*, *Mutsaddis*, etc.

Vijnaptipatras or *Vinantipatras* constitute an important source of information with regard to the Jains in the nineteenth century. These were invitations sent by congregations of Jain devotees to their religious leaders. These descriptive letters throw light on the social life of Rajasthan.

Some reference may be made to the bardic poems. Being

"essentially emotional and bardic in their expression", these poems give "too exaggerated a version" of things to be of real help for writing sober history. Still they reflect "the feelings and sentiments of the people". In this connection the poems of Banki Das, Surya Mal, Girvardhan and others may be mentioned. Banki Das wrote poems regarding the treaty alliances as well as the two sieges of Bharatpur. The bardic poems, composed in the first half of the nineteenth century, reveal in an appreciative tone the anti-British attitude of the feudal chieftains. We come across poems regarding popular bandits as well as the struggle of 1857.

Illustrated manuscript paintings which are available at different museums and art galleries of Rajasthan as well as in private custody throw light on sports, entertainments, *darbars*, *harem* scenes, festivals, etc. Apart from their artistic importance, they reflect the trends of life and culture of the people and nobles during the period.

Important Marathi sources pertaining to Rajasthan are available at Poona and Bombay. *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar*, edited by G. S. Sardesai, have been published by the Government of Bombay. The *Gulgule Daftar* records, or the communications received by the *Gulgule* family of Maratha tax-collectors posted at Kotah, are significant in regard to the affairs of Sindhia and Holkar. There are old papers of several Maratha historical families, like the *Hinganes* and the *Chandrachurs*, which have been published. Reference may also be made to the *Dilliyethil Marathyanchin Raj-Karanen*, *Jaipur-Yethil Raj-Karanen* and *Jodhpur-Yethil Raj-Karanen*, edited by D. B. Parasnis. Sardesai's *Historical papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia* also deserves mention.

Incidentally, it may be stated that the Persian and Marathi documents, along with the records in English, help us to correct many wrong statements found in the contemporary English compositions on European military adventurers in India, such as Francklin's *George Thomas* and Herbert Compton's *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan*, and also in the French works on the lives of De Boigne and Perron.

In addition to the host of these unpublished materials, there are quite a good number of published sources of different types. The latter include the following well-known works :

1. *A Collection of Charters and Statutes Relating to the East India Company*, London, 1817.
2. Aitchison's *Treaties*, etc.
3. Kaye, John William—*Selections from the Papers of Lord Metcalfe*.
4. Martin, Montgomery—*The Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley* (in 5 vols.).
5. Owen, Sidney J.—*A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other Papers of the Marquis Wellesley during his Government of India*.
6. *Parliamentary Papers*.
7. *Poona Residency Correspondence* (Relevant volumes).
8. Ross, Charles—*Correspondence of ... First Marquis Cornwallis* (3 vols.).
9. *Papers showing the relations of the Meywar chiefs towards Maharana of Oodeypore*, 1869.
10. *Selections from Ochterlony Papers* (1818-1825), edited by Sinha and Dasgupta, University of Calcutta, 1964.

The Political Administration and other Reports of the Rajputana States also belong to this category. Reference may also be made to the *Report of the Indian States (Butler) Committee* (1928-29) and Government of India's *White Paper* on Indian States (July, 1948).

As regards old newspapers, mention may be made of the *Calcutta Gazette*, the *Bengal Journal*, the *India Gazette* and the *Calcutta Chronicle*. An English political weekly, the *Rajputana Times*, was started in 1895. A Hindi Journal, the *Rajasthan Samachar*, was first published in 1898. Both, however, were discontinued before long. Reference may be made to the later ones, viz., the *Darbar* and the *Navajyoti*, both dailies and weeklies, the *Naveen Rajasthan* (a weekly) and the *Praja Mandal's* weekly paper, the *Swatantra Bharat*.

Imperial Gazetteer, *Rajputana Gazetteers* and *Rajasthan District Gazetteers* are sometimes very helpful.

Among Travel Accounts, mention may be made of Tod's *Travels in Western India*, Bishop Héber's *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces* and Lt. Boileau's *Narrative of a Tour through Rajwara in 1835*. In his *Letters from a Mahratta Camp during the year 1809*, Broughton recorded his experiences in the camp of Sindhia where he lived as commander of the escort of the British Resident. These letters written to his brother contain important references to Rajputana.

The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings in 2 vols. is a valuable diary. It helps us to get an insight into the feeling and ideas of Lord Hastings in whose times the foundations of British imperial domination over Rajputana were laid. Sir John Malcolm's *A Memoir of Central India* is a reliable account of contemporary events and other important facts concerning Central India. Malcolm had a first-hand knowledge of the region. *Memoirs of the Puthan soldier of Fortune (Ameer Khan)*, compiled in Persian by Busawan Lal and translated into English by Prinsep, was probably written by a court favourite. Though its authenticity is not beyond doubt, it contains a good deal of useful information.

Colebrooke's *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, Kaye's *Life and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe* and *Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm* are very useful works. These not only give an account of the chief events in the careers of those three important officials playing a vital role in the Company's affairs but also contain copious extracts both from their official and private correspondence. *Life and Letters of First Earl Minto (1807-1814)* may also be included in this category.

Tod's *Annals* deserves special mention as the most outstanding of the contemporary or semi-contemporary secondary works. This stupendous work in three volumes (Cooke's edition) "is an encyclopaedia on Rajasthan and Rajputs". As to his sources of information, Tod himself writes : "For a period of ten years I was employed, with the aid of a learned Jain, in ransacking every work which could contribute any facts or incidents to the history of the Rajputs or diffuse any light upon their manners and character." He gathered his data from official and unofficial sources as also through personal observation and knowledge.

Though not "a critical historian or a discriminating judge of Rajput character", he has done much to widen our perspective in regard to the writing of the history of Rajasthan. His *Annals* is a mine of geographical, political, economic, sociological and religious information. "The epic portion of Tod's narrative relates to Mewar", for which he had "special affection". But his treatment of British relations with the Rajput states is brief and restrained by caution imposed by his official position. Although occasionally outspoken in his criticism of British policy he could not disclose all facts to which he had access as a servant of the Company. The inaccuracies and gaps in his treatment of the political developments in the Rajput principalities during the eighteenth century have been rectified and supplemented by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire* which is partly a survey of those States in the perspective of the Mughal Empire and of Maratha policy.

Prinsep's two-volume *History of the Political Transactions in India During the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings*, published in 1825, is a reliable work containing useful information. As Political Secretary under Lord Hastings, Prinsep had access to all the official records, upon which his writing is based. In his *History of Mahrattas*, Grant Duff refers to the oppression of the Rajputs by the Marathas as also to the Rajput alliances with the British. Malcolm's *Political History of India (1784-1823)*, which has almost the value of a primary source, throws some light on Anglo-Rajput relations. Reference may also be made to Sutherland's brief but valuable contemporary work *Sketches of the Relations subsisting between the British Government and the different Native States*, and Lee-Warner's well-known standard work *The Native States of India*.

Suraj Mal Mishran's *Vamsha Bhaskar* (8 vols.) in Hindi (written in 1841) is of immense value.

The systematic study of the history of Rajasthan in modern times initiated by Tod has made remarkable progress in the present century, mainly owing to the efforts of the scholars of Rajasthan. Kaviraj Shyamaldass's *Vir Vinod*, Gourishankar Ojha's *Rajputana ka Itihas*, B. N. Reu's *Marwar ka Itihas*, M. L.

Sharma's *Kotah Rajya Ka Itihas*—all in Hindi—are valuable contributions. A C. Banerjee's esteemed contribution in the field of Rajput studies is also of great value. His well-known work *The Rajput States and the East India Company* is a large-scale commentary on some portions of Tod's work. It is the first comprehensive account of the extension of British supremacy over Rajputana, based on original sources (mostly unpublished records preserved in the National Archives of India). It includes a survey of Rajput Feudalism and of the social, economic and administrative system of the Rajput States. M. S. Mehta's *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, chiefly based upon original English records of the India Office, partly deals with the Anglo-Rajput relations during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings only. Among recent works, H. C. Batra's *The Relations of Jaipur State with the East India Company (1803-1858)* is written largely on the basis of primary source-material available in our National Archives. Mention may also be made of N. R. Khadgawat's *Rajasthan's Role in the Struggle of 1857*. Khadgawat has utilised the records of the National Archives including the Rajputana Residency papers as well as those in the custody of the Rajasthan State Archives. It is really encouraging to note that in recent years quite a good number of young scholars, chiefly in the Universities of Rajasthan, have either successfully completed or are engaged in researches upon different topics of the modern history of Rajasthan. The present writer's thesis *The Rajput States and the East India Company from the close of the 18th Century to 1820*, based upon unpublished archival documents as well as published sources, is an attempt at a critical and comprehensive study of the first phase in the history of Anglo-Rajput relations, covering all States in Rajasthan, big or small. It seeks to review the facts in a fresh perspective. It is now in press.

To sum up, this account of source-materials is not exhaustive. It is just an attempt at a broad review of them. As to the extent and dependability of these materials, it may be stated that those in English are by far the most extensive. Sometimes we have to depend solely on English official records which,

however, are not always above criticism on account of the interests and motives of the imperial authority as also of the personal bias and love of power of individual officials which sometimes prejudice the presentation of things in them.

As regards the progress of modern historical researches upon Rajasthan, we find that the interest of historians and research scholars has been mostly confined to the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth. This has been pointed out by the Director of the Institute of Historical Studies in his introductory chapter in the recent publication, *Studies in Modern Indian History*. To quote him, "This is specially unfortunate, as Rajasthan historians have unique opportunities of working in new fields of investigation—the changing administrative pattern in the Princely States, the economic and social effects of the feudal structure, the accumulation of capital and the growth of an influential business community, the rise of democratic forces, etc."

Finally, reference may be made to the difficulties experienced in the use of the source-materials. A new-comer in the field of historical research may at the beginning feel confused owing to the variety and immensity of the sources. Sometimes, papers belonging to different categories but of one particular year are kept together. This creates some difficulty in sorting materials. At times we are handicapped by the language problem. Indeed, the available source-materials cannot be properly made use of without a working knowledge of the different languages in which they are written.

REFERENCES

Reference may be made to the materials utilised to prepare this paper. Apart from the bibliographies in important secondary works, the following few, among others, may be mentioned :

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- ² *Annual Reports of the National Archives of India, New Delhi.*

- ³ *Annual Administrative Report of the Rajasthan State Archives for the years 1958-59 and 1959-60.*
- ⁴ A paper on 'Historical Records Relating to Northern India 1700-1817' by J. N. Sarkar, *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings* (1925), Vol. VII.
- ⁵ *Lectures on Rajput History* by A. C. Banerjee, Appendix— 'Note on Tod's Annals'.
- ⁶ G. N. Sharma's papers : (a) 'Some Material from the Dastari Records in Jodhpur', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XIX ; (b) 'A Note on Portfolio Files', *ibid.*, Vol. XXI ; (c) 'Studies in the History of Rajasthan', published in *Studies in Modern Indian History* (1969).
- ⁷ An article on 'Vijnaptipatra' by Surendra Gopal, *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, 40th session, 1970, Paper No. III.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT HARYANA

Dr. U. V. Sharma

2 • Haryana

Haryana has been changing its name and political boundaries from time to time, but its present day boundaries form a compact geographical unit. It is bounded by the Himalaya in the north, the river Yamuna in the west, the Aravalli range and a part of the Rajasthan desert in the south, and river Ghaggar in the north-east.

On account of its strategic position the region of Haryana occupied a key position in the socio-political and political history of India. Consequently the region has witnessed a number of battles since Rigvedic times.

The region of Haryana is equally rich in its literary tradition and archaeological remains. Thus we have both literary and archaeological sources at our disposal for the reconstruction of the history of this region.

The source-material for reconstructing the history of ancient Haryana can be classified into two broad categories. The literary source comprises the Vedic, Buddhist and Jain texts, the Great Epics and the Puranas, several literary works like the *Aratsalya* of Panini, the *Harashcharya*, *Harabhata* and the *Harahar* of Kalidasa and also the accounts left by foreign writers. The archaeological source, covering the pre-historic and historic periods, includes inscriptions, coins and seals, etc. Moreover, Materials gleaned from these sources have enabled us to obtain a reasonably good picture of Haryana of bygone days.

Of the literary texts, the Vedic Samhitas and Brahmanas contain numerous references to the region of Haryana and present it as the cradle land of Indian civilisation. The hymns of the *Rigveda* furnish abundant geographical data about the

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Of the literary texts, the Vedic Samhitas and Brahmanas contain numerous references to the region of Haryana and present it as the cradle land of Indian civilisation. The hymns of the *Rigveda* furnish abundant geographical data about the

region. The prayer to the Sarasvati² shows that the Aryans lived on the holy banks of the Sarasvati (modern Sarsuti) and Drisadvati (modern Chitang) in the region from the very dawn of humanity. It was the country created by the Devatas and therefore, it was given the name *Brahmavarta*.³ The *Rigveda* (X, 75, 5) and other Samhitas refer to many rivers of Haryana. The Sarasvati is the river par excellence (*naditama*).⁴ Its banks witnessed the development of the Vedic sacrifices. It was here that the Aryans composed hymns and gained spiritual knowledge.⁵ The Vedic sages and seers kindled the sacred fire on the banks of the rivers Sarasvati, Drisadvati and Apaya.⁶ The *Rigveda* mentions several tribes, the most important of whom were the Bharatas living in the Rigvedic age in the region between the Sarasvati and the Yamuna. It also refers to some localities of Haryana. Saryanavat, located in Kurukshetra by Sayana, finds mention in many passages of the *Rigveda*.⁷ Cunningham⁸ thinks that this lake was the same as the present great tank of Kurukshetra. Another locality Somatirtha⁹ is also located near Saryanavat.

The *Brahmanas* mention about the Kurus who gave their name to Kurukshetra and made it the home of the Vedic culture. According to these texts, its speech was the best and purest and its mode of sacrifice was ideal and perfect.¹⁰ The *Satapatha Brahmana* (XI, 5, 1, 4) also refers to the Haryana region and the lotus-lake then called Anyatahplaksha (in Kurukshetra region).

Apart from throwing light on the condition of Buddhism in the region of Haryana, the Buddhist literature also tells us about the life of the people. The *Divyavadana*¹¹ informs us that the people of Rohtak were prosperous, happy and sufficient in food and they enjoyed music. It also acquaints us with the expansion of Buddhism in the north-west including Agroha and Rohtak. The *Chullavagga* (XII, 1, 9) describes Aggallapura (Agroha) as a stronghold of Buddhism. From the *Majjhimanikaya*¹² we learn about the prosperity of Thullakotthita (probably Dhankot in Gurgaon district), a city of Kurudesa. In this city Buddha gave the teachings to Ratthapala.¹³ Kurukshetra is frequently alluded to in the *Jatakas*, the most important reference to it being in the *Mahasutasoma Jataka*.¹⁴ A later work, *Arya Manjusrimulakalpa*,¹⁵ includes Sthanvisvara

in the Srikantha *Janapada* and describes its rulers as Vaisya by caste.

Jainism is said to have been propagated in Agroha region by the Jain monk Lohacharya sometime between A.D. 14 and 36.¹⁶ The Jain canonical literature refers to a shrine of Dharmayaksa in Pudhavadinasya garden of Rohidiya (Rohtak).¹⁷ For a number of succeeding centuries, Jainism seems to have been in abeyance in this region. It was revived under the leadership of Jinaballabha, the great monk of Hansi.¹⁸ Jinaballabha wrote a number of books¹⁹ which throw valuable light on the history and other aspects of Jainism in this region. The accounts of Somadeva²⁰ and Puspadanta²¹ give us a vivid picture of the economic condition of this region from the eighth century to the eleventh century A.D. From these works we learn that the villages of the Yaudheya country or the region under review was full of cattle-wealth and the fields yielded bouncing harvest. The Yaudheya country was an ornament of the earth and an abode of good and happy life. The people were hospitable and magnanimous and respected *Varnasrama Dharma*. They had several storeyed houses.

Apart from the above-mentioned works, the *Mahabharata* has supplied us various data about the ancient history of Haryana. It is not unexpected. The famous battle of the Mahabharata took place in the Kurukshetra region and the gospel of the *Gita* is supposed to have been preached here. The region of Haryana is known to the Great Epic as a land of plentiful grains (*bahudhanyaka*) and immense riches (*bahudhana*). The account of the expedition of Nakula relates that he advanced on Rohitaka (Rohtak), full of horses, cattle, wealth of crops and blessed by the God Karttikeya, and had a severe combat with the Mattamayuras. From there he marched to the region comprising the deserts and reduced the cities of Sairisaka (Sirsa) and Maheccha (Maham).²²

It is interesting to note that many features of this account agree with those of the Yaudheya coinage. The *Mahabharata* also furnishes valuable geographical data and mentions several rivers, forests, *asramas*, *tirthas* and cities in the region.

Puranas

The Puranic traditions ascribe the virtual reclamation of the Sarasvati and Drisadvati region to the Kurus who also laid down a code of conduct for the people based on the practice of eight virtues of truthfulness, austerity, forgiveness, compassion, purity, charity, composure and continence.²³ The *Vamana Purana*²⁴ also furnishes the names of various forests in Haryana region.

Some of the towns of Haryana have been mentioned by Panini, such as Kapisthala (Kaithal), Roni (probably Rodi in Hissar district), Tausayana (Tohana in Hissar district), Sairisaka (Sirsa), Srughna (Sugh) and Kalakuta (Kalka).²⁵ The Kuru kingdom and Kuru *janapada* were also known to Panini.

From the *Chaturabhani*²⁶ we learn that the Yaudheyas were known not only for their valour and prosperity but also for their skill in music; the Yaudheya drummers of Rohtak (ancient Rohitaka) attracted numerous people to their folk-music in the bazars of Ujjain.

Banabhatta, the great master of Sanskrit prose, in his *Harsacharita*, presents a very graphic view of Sthanvisvara which formed a part of the Srikantha country. Bana informs us that the people of this country were good natured and devoted to their duties.²⁷ They abhorred false doctrines²⁸ and avoided sin and sacrilege.²⁹ They led a life of high ideals³⁰ and did not know disease or premature death.³¹ According to Bana,³² the Srikantha *janapada* had wide fields of sugarcane, paddy, *mudga*, wheat, etc., on all sides. The herds of cows, buffaloes and other animals moved in the jungles, and the barns were full of high heaps of harvest.

Vakpatiraja³³ informs us about the campaigns of Yasovarman of Kanauj in this region. The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana also throws some welcome light on the political history of Haryana. It informs us that the Kashmir king Lalitaditya Muktapida, son of Pratapaditya II or Durlabhaka and Narendra-Prabha, previously the wife of Nona, a *Vanik* (merchant) from Rouhitaka,³⁴ inflicted a smashing defeat on him and hence the whole of Haryana from the Yamuna to the Kalika came under the control of the Kashmir monarch.³⁵ The example of the

enormous wealth of a merchant from Rohitaka is also found in this text.³⁶ Among other texts, mention may be made of the works of Thakura Pheru,³⁷ a great scholar of Haryana, who flourished towards the end of the 13th century A.D. They throw welcome light on the history and culture of the region.

No less valuable are the foreign accounts. From the Greek historian Arrian we learn about the economic and political condition of the region. He informs us that the country beyond the Hyphasis (Beas) was exceedingly fertile and that the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war and living under an excellent system of government, for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy who exercised their authority with justice and moderation.³⁸ The famous Chinese pilgrim, Yuan-Chwang, visited Thanesvar and Sugh, the two important seats of Buddhism in Haryana at the time of Harsha. He has given a glowing description of Srikantha *janapada* and its capital Sthanvisvara. According to him, the people of the *janapada* were greatly devoted to magical arts, and majority of them pursued trade and few took to agriculture, though the soil was rich and fertile. The rich families spent money in extravagance. Most of the people were members of the Brahmanical sects.³⁹

The literary sources mentioned above are no doubt very valuable and abundant on the cultural side but they are deficient in material for political history. Moreover, the information available for the period from the end of the Maurya rule till the rise of the Vardhana dynasty is almost negligible. Difficulty is also experienced in the interpretation and identification of the data as they are often too vague and meagre.

As stated above, the region of Haryana has great archaeological potentiality. As a result of the explorations conducted in the region, hundreds of sites ranging in date from pre-Harappan to medieval times have been brought to light.⁴⁰ Besides, the systematic excavations, though on a limited scale, conducted in recent years at Sugh, Mitathal, Daulatpur and Raja Karna Ka Qila, have thrown valuable light on the proto-history and history of the region. The work has revealed the early cultures

in Haryana from c. 2400 B.C. The possibility of still earlier remains cannot be ruled out if systematic and extensive survey is undertaken in the Siwalik foot-hills in Ambala district and around the Aravallis in Gurgaon district.

The earliest known phase in the proto-history of Haryana is of the Pre-Harappans. They lived in mud-brick houses with thatched roof and their settlements, though small, were fortified. They cultivated grain and corn and domesticated bull and goat. Their pottery is wheel-made red ware painted in black with geometric and linear designs. Incised designs occur mainly on the interior. The types include vase, bowl or dish on stand. Their implements were made of bronze, copper and stone.⁴¹

The second proto-historic period in Haryana is characterized by the advent of the Harappa civilisation. The existence of twin mounds at Rakhi Garhi (near Jind), Mitathal (near Bhiwani), and Wananwali (near Fatehabad) suggests that the Harappans followed the typical pattern of other well known sites. The Harappan remains at Mitathal and other sites in the region fully bear out the mature Harappan traditions in town-planning, architecture, art crafts and in the household equipment.⁴² One typical Harappan seal has also been found at Rakhi Garhi.⁴³

The third phase in the proto-history of Haryana is marked by the decadent phase of the Harappan civilisation, also termed 'Late Harappan'. The remains of this phase have been excavated at Mitathal (period IIB) and at Daulatpur (period I). The evolved shapes, inferior treatment of the surface and the simpler and fewer decoration in the pottery indicate a decadent stage of the culture. At Daulatpur⁴⁴ the material equipment of this period included the remains of oval ovens, charred grains, grinding stones, bone engravers, copper bangles, copper fish-hook, bone-points, bangles of faience and terracotta, and beads of semi-precious stones. The excavation at Mitathal⁴⁵ has yielded a copper axe, a celt and a ring, all typical of the well known copper hoards, in association with the late Harappan pottery in stratigraphical context.

Towards the beginning of the first millennium B.C. a new era distinguished by the use of Painted Grey Ware started in

this region. On the basis of the circumstantial evidence from Hastinapur and other sites, it has been associated with the Mahabharata period. Many sites of this culture have been traced in various parts of Haryana, particularly around Kurukshetra. The excavations at Daulatpur⁴⁶ have also revealed the remains of this culture (period II).

In all, twenty inscriptions of the ancient period have so far been discovered in Haryana. The earliest of these inscriptions are the famous Topra Pillar edicts of Asoka⁴⁷ which bear testimony to the importance of this place as a stronghold of the Mauryan administration. The Tusam Rock Inscription⁴⁸ of the fourth-fifth century A.D., recording the construction of two reservoirs and a house (temple) for the god Vishnu, is of religious and cultural significance. The Hissar Stone Pillar Inscription⁴⁹ of about the same period bears the names of pilgrims which show that its findspot was a centre of pilgrimage in that period.

The Sonpat (Sonepat) copper-seal Inscription⁵⁰ of Harshavardhana is of great religious and historical value. It gives the genealogy of the Pushyabhuti rulers. The rulers preceding Prabhakaravardhana are simply called Maharajas, whereas Prabhakaravardhana, Rajyavardhana and Harshavardhana are called *Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja*, showing that they were independent and imperial rulers. The inscription further informs us that the rulers of the Pushyabhuti family were devout worshippers of the Sun-God. In this inscription Rajyavardhana II has been called *Paramasaugata*.

The two inscriptions of the time of Gurjara-Pratihara king Bhojadeva from Pehowa⁵¹ and Sirsa⁵² and the Pehowa *prasasti* of Mahendrapala⁵³ show that Haryana continued to be a part of the Pratihara empire under these two rulers. From these inscriptions we learn that Pehowa had developed into an important commercial and cultural centre during that period and that Sirsa was an important seat of the Pasupata sect. The Pehowa *prasasti* of Mahendrapala furnishes the genealogy of the rulers of a local Tomara family, who were apparently the feudatories of the Pratiharas. This inscription contains probably the earliest

reference to the Tomara family.

The two unpublished inscriptions (now in the Gurukul Jhajjar Museum), the Votive Temple Inscription of V.S. 954 from Gurawara (district Gurgaon) and the Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Mohanbari (district Rohtak) relating to the Vaishnava sect, are important from the religious point of view and so also the Sankarshana Vishnu Image Inscription from Delhi which was installed by a merchant of Rohitaka.

From the Delhi (Siwalik) Pillar Inscription we learn that the Tomaras were defeated by Vighraharaja IV, the Chauhan ruler. The Hansi Stone Inscription of Prithviraja II (Samvat 1224) is of great historical value for the history of Chauhan rule over Haryana. It is a *prasasti* of Prithviraja II who put his maternal uncle, Kilhana, in charge of the Hansi fort in order to ward off the attacks of the Muslims. The inscription described Kilhana's conquest of Panchapura (probably Pinjore) and victory over its chief.

The Palam Baoli Inscription⁵⁵ (V.S. 1337) and the Delhi Museum Inscription⁵⁶ (V.S. 1385) also furnish valuable information regarding the history of Haryana. The latter inscription refers to the Haryana region as a very heaven on earth, which included Dhillika (Delhi) founded by the Tomaras in it.

The other inscriptions discovered within Haryana include a Kharoshthi inscription⁵⁷ from Karnal, some early medieval inscriptions from Sirsa⁵⁸ and an unpublished stone inscription of about the 10th century A.D. from Jodhakan (near Sirsa).⁵⁹

Interesting and noteworthy are two short inscriptions on a terracotta figurine and a tablet. Sugh has yielded a terracotta figurine of a child with a *pattika*, having his first lessons on the *svaras*.⁶⁰ It throws valuable light on the method of teaching during the Sunga period. The mention of the seven *svaras* (*ni, dha, pa, ma, ga, ri, sa,*) in reverse order found inscribed on a terracotta tablet from Agroha,⁶¹ belonging to the 9th century A.D., is also interesting.

Some inscriptions discovered outside Haryana also furnish information regarding the history and culture of the region, such as the Vijayagarh Inscription of the Yaudheyas,⁶² Junagarh Inscription of Rudradaman,⁶³ Allahabad Pillar Inscription of

Samudragupta,⁶⁴ Ganesaged plates of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena I,⁶⁵ Kaman Inscription,⁶⁶ Ajmer Museum *prasasti* of Arnoraja,⁶⁷ Badaun Inscription⁶⁸ and Ladanu Inscription.⁶⁹

The numismatic evidence forms a very important source for the political, cultural and economic history of the region. The earliest coins found in Haryana are the punch-marked⁷⁰ and cast⁷¹ coins. Next come the coins of the Agaca⁷² and Yaudheya republics. The numismatic evidence shows that after the death of Pushyamitra Sunga, these two republics of Haryana became independent. The Agaca coins bearing the legends *Agodaka Agaca Janapadasa* or *Agodaka Agacaja*, etc., have been found at Agroha, Barwalla and Naurangabad.⁷³ Probably Agroha was the capital of these people. The coins of the Yaudheyas with the legend *Yaudheyanaṃ bahudhanyake* or *Yaudheya ganasya Jaya*, etc., and usually bearing the figure of Karttikeya, have been discovered from a number of sites throughout Haryana. The discovery of hundreds of coins and coin-moulds of the Yaudheyas from Khokrakot⁷⁴ shows that the place was a mint-site and probably their capital also. The Yaudheyas who issued coins from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. were the indomitable people of this region.^{74a}

In addition to the coins from many sites⁷⁵ in Haryana, Khokrakot alone has yielded coins of nearly half of the Indo-Greek rulers.⁷⁶ The finds of a large number of coins of these rulers show that this region too fell a prey to the attack of the Yavanas who had penetrated as far as Madhyamika and Saketa.

Several Kuninda coins of king Amoghabhuti have been recovered from Karnal⁷⁷ and the regions of Buria, Sugh, Jagadhari and Naraingarh.⁷⁸

Excepting 27 gold coins from Mitathal, all the coins of Kushana rulers from Haryana are in copper. The coin-moulds of Huvishka and Kanishka I have been found from Khokrakot⁷⁹ and Naurangabad.⁸⁰ The evidence clearly establishes that the Kushanas also ruled over this region.

A silver coin-piece of Indo-Sassanian type, with the letter *ma* between two attendants at the fire-altar, has been reported from Kapalamochana.⁸¹

Amongst the Gupta rulers, the coins of Samudragupta only have so far been discovered at Jagadhari⁸² and Mitathal.⁸³ The coins from the latter site include a rare coin of Battle-axe type.

The coins of the Pushyabhuti rulers are conspicuous by their absence.

The coins of the Pratihara rulers, Bhojadeva and Vighrahpala, have been found at Khokrakot.⁸⁴ The Tomara rulers not only copied the type of the coins of the Shahi rulers of Gandhara but also retained the name of Samantadeva. The area around Sugh, Mandalapur, Buria and Jagadhari has yielded coins of Tomara and Chauhan rulers.⁸⁵

Besides coins, clay seals and sealings have been reported from a number of sites in Haryana. A round clay sealing from Khokrakot⁸⁶ bears the legend *Bhadramitrasya dronigha (te)* in Brahmi characters and probably belongs to the second century B.C. Singhal considers Bhadramitra as the Yaudheya officer-in-charge of Dehradun.⁸⁷ A clay seal from Naurangabad⁸⁸ bears the legend *Rapata Yaudheya Janapada Prakritanaka Nagara*. The Yaudheya seal from Agroha⁸⁹ bears a five-line inscription in Gupta characters which has been translated by Gupta⁹⁰ as “(The seal) of one who is appointed by (puraskrita) Yaudheya-gana; of one who was adopted (*grihita*) by (Maharaja) Mahakshatrapa, Mahasenapati Indramitra; of one who was Maharaja Mahakshatrapa Senapati and Aprathihatasasana; and of Dharma-mitra Nandavarmana”. Another Yaudheya seal from Naurangabad⁹¹ has an inscription of two lines in Brahmi characters reading *Yaudheyana (m) jayamantradhara (m)*. The above-mentioned seals are very important for they throw light on the history and administration of the Yaudheyas.

Some terracotta seals from Theh Polar⁹² bear Brahmanical emblems. From this site has also been found a copper seal⁹³ bearing a trident above the inscription *Sammukhe Kasisvarasya* in the characters of the later Gupta period. A terracotta sealing from Raja Karna Ka Qila⁹⁴ depicts a beautiful Indian bull and above it a line of five minute letters, probably in the Kharosthi script. The excavations at Sugh⁹⁵ have yielded two terracotta sealings belonging to the third century A.D. These bear the

legends *Vyaghraraja* and *Sugh*. Another important terracotta sealing is from Daulatpur⁹⁶ excavations which contains the legend *Sthanesvarasya* in the Brahmi character of the fourth-fifth century A.D.

No temple or shrine in Haryana has so far been discovered intact. However, the presence of many Brahmanical and Jain temples is evident from the ruins of architectural pieces, such as, door-jambs, lintels, pillars, etc. Most of these Brahmanical and Jain temples belonged to eighth to twelfth centuries A.D. Remains of Buddhist monuments are very rare. Architectural pieces have been recovered throughout Haryana. Among these remains mention may be made of a door-jamb from Haboli⁹⁷ showing Ganga and other amorous scenes, a lion-capital fragment from Khokrakot⁹⁸ belonging to the first century A.D., remains of two brick temples with *sikhara* at Kalayat,⁹⁹ incised red stone rectangular pillar from Amin¹⁰⁰ ascribable to the Sunga period, ruins of a Mauryan Stupa at Chaneti¹⁰¹ and three well-known Asokan pillars from Topra, Hissar and Fatehabad.

The stone sculptures found in the region belong to the Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist orders.

The Brahmanical sculptures include the images of Ganapati, Ekamukha linga, Gajasura-hanta, Mahisasuramardini, Siva-Parvati, Vishnu and his various incarnations and forms (Varaha, Vamana, Seshasayi, Surya-Narayana Nrisimha, Trivikrama). The noteworthy among them included images of Siva with his consort Parvati from Gujarkheri¹⁰² in Gurgaon district (now in the National Museum, New Delhi), a stone slab from Amin depicting a four-armed seated figure of Ganapati with Siva and Parvati assigned to the later Gupta period by Spooner,¹⁰³ a life-size specimen of Vishnu belonging to the first-second centuries A.D. from Agroha¹⁰⁴ and a unique sculpture of Vishnu riding on his vehicle Garuda from Khokrakot (now in the Jhajjar Museum).

One life size sculpture of seated Buddha from Brahmanivas (now in the Gurukul Jhajjar Museum) belongs to the Kushana times and bears an inscription on its pedestal reading *Buddha Kanakamuni*. A head of the Buddha is from Sanghi (Rohtak) belonging to the eighth century A.D. (in Jhajjar Museum). Two images of the Buddha, one from Rohtak and the other from

Kurukshetra, have also been reported by Rodgers.¹⁰⁵

Many sites in Haryana have yielded Jain sculptures, among which mention may be made of Parsvanatha, Santinatha and other Jain deities from Asthal Bohar. The Kalka-Pinjore region has also yielded many Jain sculptures.

Along with representations of Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain divinities, mention is to be made of an image of Yaksha belonging to the category of first-second century B.C.; it comes from Palwal¹⁰⁶ (District Gurgaon). Another Yaksha sculpture of pre-Gupta times is from Khokrakot.

Several terracotta figurines, sculptured bricks and plaques have been recovered from a number of sites in Haryana which throw welcome light on the art and religious beliefs and practices.

The figurines represent gods and goddesses and human forms. Among the former mention may be made of a rare figure of mother goddess of Kushana times from Kansala¹⁰⁷ (Rohtak district). A head of three-eyed Siva of Saka-Kushana times from Agroha¹⁰⁸ is important from the point of view of art and iconography. From Agroha¹⁰⁹ has been reported a terracotta figurine of Mahishasuramardini. Another figurine of the ten-armed goddess comes from Khokrakot (now in the Jhajjar Museum).

Among the human figurines most noteworthy are two large-sized female heads,¹¹⁰ one of the Kushana times and the other of the Gupta period, from Kansala and Dhaturi respectively. The art of these pieces bespeaks a commendable amount of technical perfection. They appear to be excellent pieces of Indian terracotta art.

The most important and rare finds in terracotta are some sculptured bricks from Agroha¹¹¹ and Nacharkhera¹¹² (Hissar district). These depict scenes from the *Ramayana* and seem to have formed part of the railing of a temple of the Gupta period.

Several plaques depicting different scenes, figurines and designs, etc., have been discovered from a number of sites. One plaque from Khokrakot¹¹³ belonging to the Gupta period shows three figures with a single head. Another plaque of the Kushana period from Naurangabad¹¹⁴ depicts a warrior killing a lion.

The plaque from Agroha¹¹⁵ bears the image of Vishnu. A terracotta plaque of the Gupta period from Asthipur site¹¹⁶ at Thanesar depicts two persons fighting each other. A piece of Gandhara art comes from Pehowa¹¹⁷ depicting a royal person.

Various other finds of a miscellaneous nature, such as household objects, ornaments, tools, weapons and pottery, etc., usually found in the excavations, are equally useful in shedding light on the material culture of their users. These objects also help us in tracing the history and evolution of their art.

Thus the archaeological sources described above have thrown welcome light on the ancient history of the region from the proto-historic period. Many of these materials, besides corroborating the literary evidence to some extent, have enabled us to narrow down the gaps in history ; and they also form an exclusive source about the foreign rulers in this region.

On the basis of the available source-material, it is possible to write a systematic and authentic history of Haryana, but no such serious attempt has so far been made. The evidence is scattered here and there in research journals only, to be read by the scholar specialising in specific fields. Many of the archaeological discoveries made so far also remain unpublished.

Though some source-material has been obtained for the reconstruction of the ancient history of Haryana, a good deal yet remains to be done. We have yet to know the relationship between the Harappan civilisation and the Aryans, the material culture of the Mahabharata times, the course of events in the dark age succeeding the Mauryas till the advent of the Guptas. Let us hope, patience joined with spade and pen will furnish an answer to these problems.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

<i>ASR</i>	Archaeological Survey of India (Annual Report).
<i>CASR</i>	Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Calcutta.
<i>HSHC</i>	Haryana Studies in History and Culture, Kurukshetra, 1968.

<i>I A R</i>	Indian Archaeology—A Review.
<i>J H S</i>	Journal of Haryana Studies, Kurukshetra.
<i>J N S I</i>	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
<i>C I I</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
<i>E I</i>	Epigraphia Indica.
<i>M A S I</i>	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>V I J</i>	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur.

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- ² *Rigveda*, VI, 61, 14.
- ³ *Manu*, II, 17.
- ⁴ *Rigveda*, II, 4, 16.
- ⁵ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 468.
- ⁶ Maxmuller, *Hymns of Rigveda*, I, p. 226 ; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 374.
- ⁷ Sayana on *Rigveda*, VIII, 6, 39.
- ⁸ Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, p. 335.
- ⁹ *Rigveda*, IX, 65, 22.
- ¹⁰ *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, XXV, 10 ; *Satapatha Brahmana*, IV, I, 5, 13 ; *Aitareya Brahmana*, VII, 30 ; *Jaiminiya Brahmana*, III, 126.
- ¹¹ *Divyadana*, ed. Vaidya, P. L., 1959, pp. 67-68.
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- ¹³ *Ratthapala-Suttanta*, 2/4/2.
- ¹⁴ Spooner, *ASR*, 1921-22, p. 46.
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- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 316, fn. 995.
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- ¹⁹ *Suksmarthasiddhanta vichara sara sadasiti* ; *Sarthasataka* ; *Pindavisuddhi* ; *Pansadhavidhi* ; *Pratikramanasamachari* ; *Samghapattaka* ; *Dharmasiksa* ; *Dvadasakulaka* ; *Prasnottarasataka* and *Sringarasataka*.

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- ²¹ Pushpadanta's *Jasahara Chariu*, pp. 4-5.
- ²² *Mahabharata* (critical edition), II, 29, 3-5.
- ²³ *Vamana Purana*, XXII, 24-25.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIV ; *CASR*, XIV, p. 91.
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- ²⁶ Edited by Agrawala, V. S. and Motichandra, p. 168.
- ²⁷ *Harsacharita*, (ed. by) Jivananda, p. 257.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 264.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 265.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 266.
- ³² *Harsacharitam*, (ed. by) K. P. Parab, Bombay, 1912, pp. 94-96.
- ³³ Gaudavaho, Verse 434.
- ³⁴ *Rajatarangini*, IV, verses 11 ff.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, edited by Stein, IV, p. 139.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, verses 11-25.
- ³⁷ The seven works of Thakura Pheru (*Yugapradhanachatuspadika*, *Ratnaparika*, *Vastusara*, *Ganitasara*, *Dhattutpatti*, *Jyotisasara*, *Dravya-pariksa*) have been published in one volume by Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.
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- ⁴⁵ Suraj Bhan, 'Dawn of Civilisation in Haryana', *HSHC*, p. 5, fn. 9.
- ⁴⁶ *IAR*, 1968-69, pp. 8-9.
- ⁴⁷ *CASR*, XIV, pp. 78 ff.
- ⁴⁸ *CASR*, V, 1875, pp. 136-140 ; *CII*, III, pp. 269-70.
- ⁴⁹ *CASR*, V, pp. 140-42.
- ⁵⁰ *CII*, III, pp. 231-32.
- ⁵¹ *EI*, I, p. 186 ; B. N. Puri, *Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p. 54.
- ⁵² *EI*, XXI, p. 295.

- ⁵³ *EI*, I, pp. 242ff. ; Sadharam, 'Pehowa Prasasti of Mahendrapala', *JHS*, I, 1, Jan. 1969, pp. 16-25.
- ⁵⁴ F. Fell, *Asiatic Researches*, XV, pp. 443-46.
- ⁵⁵ *EI*, V, Appendix, p. 34.
- ⁵⁶ *EI*, I, pp. 93-95.
- ⁵⁷ *CII*, II, (1), p. 179.
- ⁵⁸ *EI*, XXI, pp. 293 ff.
- ⁵⁹ The inscription was originally discovered by Shri Silak Ram, but before he could make a detailed study it was removed by the Archaeological Survey of India.
- ⁶⁰ Suraj Bhan, *VII*, V, 2, March, 1967, pp. 85-7.
- ⁶¹ H. L. Srivastava, 'Excavations at Agroha', *MA SI*, 61, Delhi, 1952, pp. 2-4.
- ⁶² *CII*, III, p. 252.
- ⁶³ *EI*, VIII, p. 44.
- ⁶⁴ *CII*, III, p. 1.
- ⁶⁵ *EI*, III, p. 318 ; K. J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 31.
- ⁶⁶ *EI*, XXIV, p. 330.
- ⁶⁷ Dasharath Sharma, *The Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 1959, p. 45.
- ⁶⁸ *EI*, I, p. 65.
- ⁶⁹ *EI*, XII, pp. 23 ff.
- ⁷⁰ Punch-marked coins have been found at Khokrakot, Agroha, Sugh and Chaneti (vide *JNSI*, XXVIII, 1966, p. 113 ; H. L. Srivastava, *MA SI*, No. 61 ; *CASR*, II, p. 226). The coins from Naurangabad have been displayed in Jhajjar Museum.
- ⁷¹ Gurukul Jhajjar Museum has a collection of cast coins from Naurangabad, Agroha, Hansi and Hissar.
- ⁷² The Sanskrit equivalent of *Agacha* is *Agratya* which means 'the people of Agra' and therefore coins are to be attributed to a tribe named Agra. For a detailed history of this tribe and their coins, see K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach* (Calcutta, 1974), pp. 1 ff. *Editor*.
- ⁷³ *MA SI*, No. 61, pp. 1-8 ; J. Allan, *CCBM*, p. clxii. The coins from Naurangabad are in Gurukul Jhajjar Museum.
- ⁷⁴ Birbal Sahani, *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, pp. 7 ff.
- ^{74a} For the comprehensive history of the Yaudheyas, see K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff. *Editor*.
- ⁷⁵ The coins of Indo-Greek rulers have been found at Sonapat, Khokrakot, Agroha, Sugh, Jagadhari, Sadhaura and Raja Karna ka Qila, vide *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1872, p. 161 (a hoard of about 1200 coins) ; *Rodger's Report*, p. 75 ; Srivastava, *op. cit.* ; vij, V, 2, 1967, p. 85 ; Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, p. 162 ; *Rodger's Report*, p. 28 ; *ASR*, 1922-23, p. 87.
- ⁷⁶ *Sudharka*, XII (5), Jan. 1965, pp. 3-4.

- ⁷⁷ J. Allan, *CCBM*, London, 1936, p. ciii. Also see Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 88ff. *Editor*.
- ⁷⁸ *Rodger's Report*, p. 24.
- ⁷⁹ *JNSI*, XV, 1953, pp. 68-69.
- ⁸⁰ *JNSI*, XXXII, 2, 1970, II, p. 160.
- ⁸¹ *CASR*, XIV, p. 78.
- ⁸² *Rodger's Report*, p. 24.
- ⁸³ M. S. Vats, *ASR*, 1926-27, p. 233.
- ⁸⁴ Jana Sahitya Viseshanka, Deptt. of Languages, Patiala, 1965, plate facing p. 90. The coins of Vigrahapala are exhibited in Gurukul Jhajjar Museum.
- ⁸⁵ Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1924, Calcutta, p. 397.
- ⁸⁶ Birbal Sahani, *Current Science*, V, August, 1936, pp. 81 ff.
- ⁸⁷ C. R. Singhal, *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, Vol. I, 1950, Bombay, p. 24.
- ⁸⁸ *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, 2, 1970, p. 155.
- ⁸⁹ *JNSI*, XXXII, 2, 1970, p. 154, Pl. V.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Editor's note.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- ⁹² *ASR*, 1930-34, pp. 143 ff.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ Spooner, *ASR*, 1922-23, pp. 87-88.
- ⁹⁵ Suraj Bhan, 'Srughna or Sugh : An old Capital of Ancient Punjab', *VII*, V. 2.
- ⁹⁶ *IAR*, 1968-69, p. 9.
- ⁹⁷ Now in Gurukul Jhajjar Museum.
- ⁹⁸ *IAR*, 1967-68, Plate XXXII : *HSHC*, Pl. I, p. 68.
- ⁹⁹ *IAR*, 1963-64, p. 91 ; Silak Ram, 'Archaeological Remains at Kalayat', *Kurukshetra University Research Journal*, IV, 1-2, 1970, pp. 139-40.
- ¹⁰⁰ *ASR*, 1921-22, p. 47 ; *HSHC*, 1968, pp. 21-23.
- ¹⁰¹ Devendra Handa, 'A Mauryan Stupa at Chaneti, Panjab', *VII*, 1, IV, 1, 1966, pp. 75-79 : *IAR*, 1963-64, p. 27.
- ¹⁰² R. C. Agrawal, 'Prachina Haryana', *Ajkal*, Nov. 1968, p. 28.
- ¹⁰³ *ASR*, 1922-23, p. 90.
- ¹⁰⁴ Now in Gurukul Jhajjar Museum.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Rodger's List*, pp. 9 and 74.
- ¹⁰⁶ R. C. Agrawal, *op. cit.*, *JUPHS*, XXIV-XXV, p. 188, figure 4. This sculpture is now in Lucknow Museum.
- ¹⁰⁷⁻¹⁰⁸ Information from Shri Silak Ram.
- ¹⁰⁹ *MA SI*, No. 61, Plate X, 8.
- ¹¹⁰ These two pieces have been found by Shri Silak Ram.
- ¹¹¹ R. C. Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- ¹¹² Yoganand in *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P.*, 5-6, June and December, 1970, pp. 5-7.
- ¹¹³ *IAR*, 1962-63, Plate XLIV-A, p. 17.

- ¹¹⁴ A paper read by Bhagwan Deva Acharya and published by the Department of Languages, Government of Haryana, 1967-68, Pl. I, p. 20.
- ¹¹⁵ R. C. Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- ¹¹⁶ *CASR*, XIV, Pl. XXVII, pp. 97 ff.
- ¹¹⁷ *CASR*, XIV, Pl. XXVII, p. 101.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT HARYANA

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WHILE dealing with the sources of early Indian history H. C. Raychaudhuri¹ observes : "No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of ancient India. But the patient investigations of numerous scholars and archaeologists have opened up rich stores of material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of our country." This observation of the distinguished historian remarkably holds good for the State of Haryana, as it applies with considerable justification to the rest of the country, barring, of course, the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which has produced in Kalhana a chronicler of outstanding merit.

To start with the literary evidence, A. B. Keith² has drawn the attention of the world of scholars to a significant passage, occurring in the *Rigveda*, which expressly describes the Puru kings, Devasravas and Devavata, as dwelling on the banks of the rivers Sarasvati, Drisadvati and Apaya. The last named river has been identified, with a great amount of exactitude, with a rivulet near modern Thanesvar. If the passage be not dismissed as a spurious one, and the identification of the Apaya, as indicated above, be accepted, it may legitimately be surmised that the illustrious Puru tribe was associated, since the Rigvedic period, with the region which in modern times has come to be designated as Haryana. The *Rigveda* likewise mentions the lake Saryanavant and the place Pastyavant, which scholars have located, not without reasons, in the regions not far off from Thanesvar and Patiala respectively.

The Brahmanas and the Upanishads unambiguously reveal that by the time when these works were being composed the cradle of the Aryan civilization had shifted from the land between the rivers Sarasvati and Drisadvati to Kurukshetra which comprised Haryana as well as Delhi and a large tract of the upper Gangetic Doab.² The people and the kings of this realm have been eulogised as the models before the Aryans. The Kurus uttered the best speech ; observed sacrifices with remarkable perfection ; their Brahmanas were world renowned for their erudition ; their monarchs were the examples for their counterparts in other kingdoms, performing the *Rajasuya*, the sacrifice of the royal consecration, embarking upon a career of *digvijaya* with the advent of the dewy season, and returning home with the approach of the summer. If the authenticity of the Vedic texts is unimpeachable, the royal residence of the Kurus was then located in the city of Asandivat, represented by Nagasahvaya or Hastinapura, or more probably the modern Asandh in the neighbourhood of the Chitang.³

The Great Epic has proved to be a source of immense value for fuller details about the Kuru kings. The genealogy of the Kuru royal family is mentioned twice in the *Mahabharata*, but it is rather unfortunate that the two accounts are far from being identical. The value of the epic accounts is further diminished by the fact, as pointed out by F. E. Pargiter,⁴ that queens are sometimes turned into kings erroneously. But it cannot escape notice that among the Kuru rulers, referred to in the genealogical portions of the *Mahabharata*, the names of Pururavas Aila, Ayu, Yayati Nahushya, Puru, Bharata Dauhshanti Saudyumni, Ajamidha, Riksha, Samvarana, Kuru, Uchchairsravas, Pratipa Pratisatvana or Pratisutvana, Balhika Pratipiya, Santanu and Dhritarashtra Vichitravirya are found mentioned in the Vedic literature as well. As H. C. Raychaudhuri⁵ rightly observes : "The occurrence of these names in Vedic texts probably proves their historicity, but it is difficult to say how far the epic account of their relationship with one another or with Parikshit, and the traditional order of succession are reliable. Some of the kings may not have been connected with the Kurus at all. Others, e.g., Uchchairsravas Kaupayeya, Balhika Pratipiya Sam-

tanu were undoubtedly of the same race (*Kauravya*) as Parikshit."

Leaving aside the genealogical tables, when one turns to the epic description of the reigns of individual monarch, one is delighted to find that the account is not only comprehensive but is also not unoften corroborated by other sources. A passage of the *Mahabharata*,⁶ for example, states that Janamejaya, son of Parikshit, along with his three brothers, Srautasena, Ugrasena and Bhimasena, once attended a sacrifice which was being performed at Kurukshetra for a long time (*Janamejayah Parikshitah saha bhratribhih Kurukshetre dirghasatram-upaste/tasya bhratarastrayah Srautasena Ugrasena Bhimasena iti//*). This is in perfect agreement with the testimony of the *Vishnu Purana*⁷ which contains the verse :

Yo'yam sampratam-avni patih tasyapi

Janamejaya-Srautasena-Ugrasena-Bhimasenah putras-chatvarobhavishyanti

The *Mahabharata*⁸ mentions the war-like Mattamayurakas, as inhabiting the tract called Rohitaka, which, as we are further told, abounded in cows, horses, riches and paddy of various kinds, and was in the perpetual enjoyment of the blessings of the war-god Karttikeya (*tato vahurvidham ramyam gavasvadanadhanyavat/Karttikeyasya dayitam Rohitakam-upadravat/tatra Yuddham mahach-casich-churair-Mattamayurakaih//*). Rohitaka (sometimes it denotes a mountain as well) of the *Mahabharata* appears to be the same as Rohtak in Haryana, and the epic passage may probably be interpreted as alluding to the flourishing economic resources of the region.

The *Dharmasutra* of Baudhayana divides India into three distinct ethnic or cultural zones, the purest of them being Aryavarta,⁹ which is described as lying to the east of the place where the river Sarasvati disappears, to the west of Kalakavana, identified with a tract in the vicinity of Allahabad, to the north of Paripatra, identified with the Western Vindhya and to the south of the Himalayas (*prag-Adarsanad=aparatyak=Kalakavanad=dakshinena Himavantam=udaka-Pariyatram=etad=Aryavartam*

tasmin ya acharah sa pramanam//). The river Sarasvati is known to have disappeared in the present Hissar district. The State of Haryana has accordingly to be located in Aryavarta, and the customs and practices, as prevalent therein, were regarded as unblemished. The *Manusamhita*¹⁰ calls Aryavarta of the *Baudhayana Dharmasutra* as Madhyadesa, which it defines as stretching from the Himalayas in the north to the Vindhyas in the south and from Vinasana in the west to Prayaga in the east (*Himavad=Vindhyayor-madhyam yat prag=Vinasanad=api/pratyag-eva Prayagach=cha Madhyadesah prakirti-tah//*). It is evident that the Brahmanical definition of Aryavarta or Madhyadesa excludes a portion of Haryana, lying beyond Vinasana : the latter, according to Manu, seems to have been included in Brahmarshidesa,¹¹ comprising Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchala and Surasena. Brahmarshidesa was superior to Aryavarta and the Brahmanas, living in this region, are extolled as worthy of being emulated by the people of the world¹² (*etad-desa-prasutasya saksasad-agrajanmanah/svam svam charitram siksheran prithivyam sarva-manavah//*). It was Haryana which was the meeting place of the two important cultural divisions of India.

The Biography of Harsha, *Harshacaritam*, composed by the seventh century Sanskrit author Banabhatta, is a mine of information for the history of the Pushyabhutis under whose stewardship the kingdom of Sthanvisvara rose into eminence. Bana¹³ credits Pushyabhuti with the foundation of the kingdom, although this king is otherwise unknown. Bana is conspicuously silent about the immediate successors of Pushyabhuti, but begins his historical narrative with Prabhakaravardhana, born in his family.¹⁴ From the *Harshacaritam* we learn that Prabhakara, also named Pratapasila, was endowed with three sons called Rajyavardhana, Harshavardhana and Krishna and a daughter, known as Rajyasri. Although Bana describes the reign of Prabhakara at great length, all that is historically significant is limited to the six attributes, applied to the king, viz., "a lion to the Huna deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of the Gurjara king, a bilious fever to that scent-elephant, the lord of Gandhara, destroyer of the skill of the Latas, an axe to the creeper, which is the goddess

of fortune (or sovereignty) of Malava.”¹⁵ As R. C. Majumdar¹⁶ rightly observes : “This poetical description leaves us in doubt whether he actually defeated these powers or was a mere threat to them.” The *Harshacaritam* states that some time before his death Prabhakara sent the crown prince Rajya to Uttarapatha as the leader of a military expedition against the Hunas, but on being informed of his father’s illness, Rajya soon returned to the capital. His father was already dead while his mother Yasomati put an end to her own life by burning herself on the bank of the river Sarasvati. Overwhelmed with grief, Rajya was determined to renounce the throne in favour of his younger brother, Harsha, and to become an ascetic. But the news of the assassination of his brother-in-law Grahavarman, king of Kanauj, and the imprisonment of Rajyasri at the hands of the king of Malava induced him to march against the adversary with an army of ten thousand cavalry, leaving his younger brother in charge of the kingdom. Rajya inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Malava army, but being “allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda” was slain by the latter.¹⁷ When the news of this calamity reached Harsha, he took a vow of vengeance against the king of Gauda and began marching “for the subjugation of all the four quarters.”¹⁸ After he had traversed some distance, he met Hamsavega, a messenger from Bhaskaravarman with whom he concluded a perpetual alliance.¹⁹ Harsha continued his advance for some days more, till he came across Bhandi who told him about the escape of Rajyasri with her train in the Vindhya forest. Harsha entrusted Bhandi with the charge of the army to be directed against Gauda, and himself set out in search of his sister. He reached the Vindhya forest where he met Rajyasri while the latter was on the point of mounting the funeral pyre. Then he, along with his sister, returned to his camp, on the bank of the river Ganges. Bana’s narrative abruptly ends here, and for our knowledge about the subsequent career of Harsha we have to depend in no small measure on the account of the Si-yu-ki and the *Manjusri-Mulakalpa*.

The *Prithviraja-vijaya*, *Prithviraj Raso* of Chand Bardai, *Kharataragaccha-pattavali* of Jinapala, *Hammira Mahakavya*,

Viruddhavidhi-viddhavamsa and *Prabandha-cintamani* likewise rank as source-books of history of the Punjab-Haryana in particular and Northern India in general, affording us interesting glimpses into the struggle for supremacy between the great Chahamana king Prithviraja III and the Turkish conqueror Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad.

The Buddhist texts, like the Brahmanical works, as said above, may profitably be utilised as throwing a flood of light upon the history of Haryana. The *Anguttara Nikaya*²⁰ mentions Kuru as one of the sixteen *mahajanapadas*, being possessed of abundant food and wealth as well as seven kinds of precious gems. The texts like the *Dhumakari Jataka* and *Dasa Brahmana Jataka* describe the royal family of the country as belonging to the Yuddhitthila gotra and having its headquarters at Indapatta or Indapattana, located at Indraprastha or Indrapat near Delhi. The Kuru realm was three hundred leagues in extent while its capital extended over seven leagues. We are told by the Panchasudani²¹ that in the course of his sojourn in the Kuru land the Buddha used to reside in a forest outside the town of Kammasadhamma of unknown identity. In the Buddhist literature we find the mention of such kings as Dhananjaya Koravya, Koravya and Sutasoma, the historical existence of whom remains an open question until further evidence is forthcoming.

A survey of the literary evidence as a source of the history of Haryana cannot but remain incomplete without a brief reference to the accounts of some foreign writers, prominent of them being the Classical writers Quintus Curtius Rufus, Diodorus Siculus, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and the reputed Muslim historian Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, surnamed Ferishta. Describing the region beyond the river Hyphasis, Quintus Curtius Rufus says: "Beyond the river lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse. Next came the Ganges, the largest river in all India, the farther bank of which was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae and the Prasii, whose king Agrammes kept in field for guarding

the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which he said ran up to the number of 3000." With this may be compared the following account of Diodorus Siculus²³: "First came a desert which it would take twelve days to traverse; beyond this was the river called the Ganges which had a width of thirty-two stadia, and a greater depth than any other Indian river; beyond this again was situated the dominions of the nation of the Praisioi and the Gandaridai, whose king Zandrames had an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots, and 4,000 elephants trained and equipped for war." Since no king is mentioned in both these accounts as occupying the land intervening the river Hyphasis and the dominions of Agrammes, it may be safely concluded that Haryana formed an integral part of the kingdom of the Imperial Nanda rulers of Pataliputra.

It was in the first half of the seventh century A.D. that Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom of Thanesar which he calls Sa-t'a-nishi-fa-lo. During this period the kingdom was under the occupation of the Pushyabhuti king Harsha, but, strangely enough, the pilgrim describes him as the king of Kanauj and "does not refer to him in any way in his account of the kingdom of Thaneswar."²⁴ This may lead to the conclusion that with his possession of the Maukhari kingdom, Kanauj became the capital of the Vardhana empire, and by the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Thanesar, Harsha's association with the original seat of government "had become merely a memory of a distant past". Regarding the kingdom of Thanesar and its people, Hiuen Tsang²⁵ says: "This kingdom is about 7000 *li* in circuit, the capital 20 *li* or so. The soil is rich and productive and abounds with grain (cereals). The climate is genial, though hot. The manners of the people are cold and insincere. The families are rich and given to excessive luxury. They are much addicted to the use of magical arts, and greatly honour those of distinguished ability in other ways. Most of the people follow after worldly gain; a few give themselves to agricultural pursuits. There is a large accumulation here of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter. There are three *sangharamas* in this country,

with about 700 priests. They all study (practise or use) the Little Vehicle. There are some hundred Deva temples, and sectaries of various kinds in great number." Going back to the days of Asoka the Chinese pilgrim²⁶ says: "To the northwest of the city 4 or 5 *li* is a *stupa* about 300 feet high, which was built by Asoka-*raja*. The bricks are all of a yellowish red colour, very bright and shining; within is a peck measure of the relics of Buddha. From the *stupa* is frequently emitted a brilliant light, and many spiritual prodigies exhibit themselves."

Mention may be made of the *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* of Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah. This work has come to be regarded as a classic for completeness of details, impartial treatment of themes and general accuracy in regard to the history of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India up to A.D. 1612. Ferishta gives us a graphic account of the capture of the sacred site of Thanesar by Sultan Mahmud in A.H. 402. On being allured by the wealth of this city, Mahmud marched from Ghazni with a vast army at his command in A.D. 1011. The king of Delhi, resolving to oppose the invader, sent messengers to the courts of other Indian rulers to come forward and join hands with him at Thanesar, "to avert the impending calamity". But Mahmud reached Thanesar with such rapidity that he found Thanesar undefended. He plundered the city and destroyed all the idols except the principal one which was despatched to Ghazni to be trodden under foot. After the capture of Thanesar Mahmud was desirous of proceeding to Delhi but his nobles advised him that "it would be impossible to keep possession of it, till he had rendered Mooltan a province of his own government, and secured himself from all apprehensions of Anundpal, Raja of Lahore".²⁷ Mahmud accordingly, returned to Ghazni. "On this occasion", as Ferishta²⁸ tells us, "the Mahomedan army brought to Ghizny 200,000 captives, and much wealth, so that the capital appeared like an Indian city, no soldier of the camp being without wealth, or without many slaves."

Numismatics, like the literary evidence, is of immense value for reconstructing the early history of Haryana. From Hissar

district have been discovered some coins which bear the legends *Agodaka Agaca Janapada* and *Agacamitrapadabhishyayinah*. These coins disclose the existence of a ruling tribe named *Agaca*,^{28a} who had their capital presumably at a place called *Agrodaka*, identified with modern *Agroha*²⁹ in the Hissar district. The term *Agaca*, as Jagannath³⁰ points out, may be equated with Sanskrit *Angatya* or *Agastya*, for "Sanskrit *tya* becomes *cha* in Prakrit, and the preceding vowel is lengthened". The term, however, has been taken by some³¹ as representing Sanskrit *Agreya*. P. L. Gupta opines that this and similar other states came to power after the downfall of the Maurya empire. It is difficult to subscribe to the view, held by Allan, that *Agodaka* or *Angodraka* may be identified with the *Oxydrakai* of the Greeks.

Mention may be made of a large number of the *Yaudheya* coins which have been unearthed in the districts of Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar of Haryana as well as in Ludhiana district of the Punjab. The earliest known specimens belong to the late second and the first centuries B.C., indicating a period of independence of the tribe, from the fall of the Mauryas to the advent of the Kushanas. A second class of the *Yaudheya* coins, revealing the poor state of currency, has been assigned to the second century A.D. and if the suggestion of Allan is to be relied upon, "it reflects the disastrous effects of Rudradaman's victory and the war with the Sakas". A third class of the *Yaudheya* coins, showing Kushana influence both in style and types, is ascribed to the third and fourth centuries A.D. Some of the earliest *Yaudheya* coins bear the legend *Bahudhanake Yodheyanam* which has been interpreted by Jagannath³² to imply that the *Yaudheyas* were in possession of the territory which was exceptionally rich and prosperous. D. C. Sirkar³³ takes these coins to mean that they were struck in the city of *Bahudhanyaka*, which he has further located in the Rohtak region, where the moulds of these coins have been discovered. The reading of *Bahudhanake* has been opposed by Cunningham and Smith who have preferred *bhumidhanusa* and *bhupadhanusa* respectively. While commenting on the reading of Smith, S. K. Chakraborty³⁴ observes : "Smith is almost positive about the

reading *bhupadhanusha*, and as this word means 'of the Lord of the Desert' and seems to fit in with the locality of the Yaudheyas, its correctness is beyond doubt." The third class of the Yaudheya coins, which has already been alluded to, contains the legend *Yaudheyaganasya jayah*, 'victory be to the republic of the Yaudheyas', and in some cases we have *dvi* and *tri* in addition. It is suggested that *dvi* and *tri* are contractions respectively of the words *dvitiya* and *tritiya*, indicating the second and the third sections of the Yaudheya tribe.^{34a} A. S. Altekar propounds that these coins were struck as commemorative medallions to signify the great victory of the Yaudheyas over the Kushanas.^{34b}

The coins of the Chahamanas kings Somesvaradeva and Prithviraja III deserve mention. The obverse of the coins of Somesvara has generally the figure of a horseman with a lance to the right as well as the legend *Sri-Somesvaradeva* or Soma or Sri-Soma; the reverse shows the figure of a recumbent humped bull and the legend which is generally read as *Asavari Sri-Samantadeva*. Thomas,³⁵ followed by Smith,³⁶ explains *Asavari* as a title of the goddess Durga. Lallanji Gopal³⁷ maintains that what is read as *va* should really be taken to be *pu* and *Asapuri* was the tutelary deity of the Chahamanas, as testified to by the *Prithvirajavijaya*. The coins of Prithviraja III follow the type adopted by his father Somesvara, including the legend on the reverse. The obverse gives the name of the king as *Sri-Prithvirajadeva*. On some coins the reverse legend *Asavari Sri-Samantadeva* is replaced by *Sri-Mahamada Sama*.³⁸ Cunningham suggests, although we are by no means definite about it, that these coins were issued during the period between 1191 and 1193 when Prithviraja III was reduced to the rank of a feudatory under his Muslim adversary.

Last but not the least in point of importance are those epigraphic records that have been discovered in Haryana. The Topra pillar in Ambala district contains all the Seven Pillar Edicts of the illustrious Maurya emperor Asoka. It was by the beginning of the sixth century A.D. that the Pushyabhutis founded a principality around Thanesar. The royal seals and inscriptions, none of which have been discovered from Haryana

proper, preserve the names of these kings which may be represented in the following genealogical table :

Maharaja Naravardhana	= Vajrinidevi
Maharaja Rajyavardhana	= Apsarodevi
Maharaja Adityavardhana	= Mahasenaguptadevi
<i>Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja</i>	
Prabhakaravardhana	= Yasomatidevi
Paramabhattacharaka	Mhdh. Rajyavardhana Pbhk. Mhdh.
	Harsavardhana

An inscription³⁹ of the year A.D. 882, discovered at Pehowa, records the transaction of business at the local horse-fair by a band of horse-dealers "in the auspicious and victorious reign of Bhojadeva".⁴⁰ This proves beyond doubt that the Pratihara monarch Bhoja I annexed a part of Haryana. It may be mentioned in this connection that the date of the Pehowa inscription is the last known date of the reign of Bhoja I.

The undated Pehowa inscription⁴¹ of the time of Mahendrapala I gives us an interesting account of a local Tomara dynasty in the Karnal area. It states that there was the Raja Jaula of the exalted Tomara-vamsa who "obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of a king". He was evidently a petty feudatory chief or a high official in the service of an unknown powerful king. In the lineage of Jaula was born Vajrata whose son and successor was Jajjuka, who was again succeeded by his son Gogga. Gogga, who appears to have been a feudatory under the Pratihara Mahendrapala I, is described as a *bhunatha*, the lord of the earth. The inscription next mentions that Gogga and his two step-brothers, Purnaraja and Devaraja, founded at Prithudaka, on the bank of the river Sarasvati, three temples of Vishnu, during the reign of Mahendrapala I. Keilhorn⁴² opines that these Tomaras were probably connected with Delhi, and they might not have any political relations with Pehowa "for Prithudaka was a place of so great sanctity, that even

pious men from distant countries may have built temples there ; and if strangers did so, their inscriptions, as a matter of course, would mention the ruling king of the country”.

The Delhi Museum inscription⁴³ dated in A.D. 1328 in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq states : “There is a country called Hariyana, a very heaven on earth. There lies the city called Dhillika built by the Tomaras. Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Chahamana kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down. Thereupon the *mlechchha* Sahavadina, having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized the city by force.” This is quite in agreement with the evidence of the Palam Baoli inscription⁴⁴ of the reign of Balban : “The land of Hariyanaka was first enjoyed by the Tomaras and then by the Chauhanas. It is now ruled by the Saka kings. First came Sahavadina, then came Khuduvadina, then Asamasadina, then Pheruja-Sahi became king.” On the basis of these and the Delhi-Sivalik Pillar inscription we may conclude with considerable justification that the region around Delhi was known as Hariyana during the reign of the Tomaras who lost control over their territory in consequence of their reverses at the hands of the Chahamana king Vigraharaja III Visaladeva by the middle of the twelfth century A.D. The region later on passed into the hands of the Ghurids.

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- ²⁴ *The Classical Age*, p. 100.
- ²⁵ Samuel Beal, *Travels of Hiuen-Tsang*, II, p. 215.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 217.
- ²⁷ John Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mohomedan Power in India*, I, p. 52.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- ^{28a} The name of the tribe is Agra, *Agacha* being the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *Agratya* meaning 'the people of Agra'. See K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach*, pp. 1, 7 ff.
- ²⁹ *Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 111. According to K. K. Dasgupta : 'The derivation of *Agacha* from *Agastya* is Philologically impossible' ; *op. cit.*, p. 8. *Editor*.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- ³¹ S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of Northern India*, 1968, p. 49. *Agacha* was connected with *Agreya* first by P. L. Gupta, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, IV, p. 51. For a criticism of Gupta's view, see K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. *Editor*.
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- ³³ *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 167.
- ³⁴ *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 222.
- ^{34a} *Dvi* and *Tri* are probably connected with the *Gana* devoting a system of administrative or tribal divisions within the Yaudheya country. See K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 228. *Editor*.
- ^{34b} An exaggerated estimate about the extent of the Yaudheya territory and their success in bringing about the downfall of the Kushanas and one by Altekar in *Vakataka-Gupta Age*, pp. 25ff, do not bear scrutiny. *Editor*.

- ³⁵ *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 61.
- ³⁶ *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, I, p. 261.
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- ⁴⁰ *EI*, I, pp. 186, 188.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242 ff.
- ⁴² *Epigraphia Indica* (henceforward *EI*).
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.
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RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF HARYANA

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I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL activities began in this part of the country more than a century ago when Sir Alexander Cunningham explored Thanesar, Sugh, etc., and identified them with the ancient cities of Sthanesvara and Srughna respectively. Subsequently ancient coins, seals, inscriptions and art remains were collected from ancient sites and bazars, and excavations were conducted during the first half of the present century at Kurukshetra, Theh Polar, Rohtak and Agroha. But these largely antiquarian activities were confined to the historical period and their full import could not be understood for want of scientific technique and advanced archaeological knowledge.

The first evidence of the pre-Buddha period was brought to light by B. B. Lal in the early fifties when he picked up a few sherds of the Painted Grey Ware, a proto-historic ceramic industry of the first half of the first millennium B.C., at Kurukshetra, Pehowa, Panipat, Amin, etc. Later a few stone age tools have also been reported from near Pinjor and Chandigarh which only emphasised the antiquity of man in this part of the country.

A systematic survey of the Sarasvati, Drisadvati and Yamuna Valleys in Haryana has, however, been carried out by the author since 1961. As a result nearly 200 ancient sites have been plotted on the map. The author also conducted excavations at Sugh (1964 and 1965), Mitathal (1968), Siswal (1970),

Daulatpur (1968 and 1969) and Karna Ka Qila (since 1970-71). An attempt has been made here to bring out the significance of these recent investigations in reconstructing the cultural history of Haryana.

The above excavations have for the first time provided an almost continuous sequence of cultures from c. 2300 B.C. to the fourth century A.D. which may be divided into six periods.

II

1. *The Early Chalcolithic Culture* (c. 2300 B.C.-2000 B.C.)

The earliest phases of colonisation of the region were revealed by the excavations at Siswal and Mitathal located on the lost courses of the Drisadvati and Yamuna respectively, in the Hissar district of Haryana. While Siswal A represents the early phase of the culture, Siswal B and Mitathal I mark its late phase.

These early peasants lived in the chalcolithic stage of culture. Their houses were made of mud or sun-dried bricks or huts of reeds plastered with clay. They used tiny blades of stone. The saddle querns, used for grinding the corn, attested the cultivation of cereals. Their other finds included baked clay missiles of disc shape and triangular cakes. Their ornaments comprised of beads of copper, clay and semi-precious stones; bangles of copper or clay, and conical head ornaments of gold. They used red, buff or grey wares which were painted with black and white pigments or decorated with incised designs both on the interior and exterior. A developed metallurgy is suggested by the use of pure copper (more than 98%). They seem to have acquired the knowledge of writing towards the later phase as shown by graffiti marks on their earthen vessels. The close affinities of the culture with Kalibangan I or the Sothi culture of North Rajasthan, the proximity of the region of its provenance to North Rajasthan and a more evolved character of the culture in Haryana as seen in Siswal B and Mitathal I, point to North Rajasthan as the source of the culture.

III

2. *The Harappa Culture* (c. 2000 B.C.-1700 B.C.)

The second period in the history of the region is marked by the advent of the Harappa civilisation evidenced in Mitathal IIA. The Harappan town at Mitathal was super-imposed upon the late Siswal settlement of Period-I. Of the several sites yielding Harappan relics in the region Mitathal Rakhigarhi and Vanawali stand out as the most prominent town-sites. All these sites are characterised by twin-mounds, suggesting dichotomous plan ; typical chert blades ; cubical chert weights ; beads of semi-precious stones, steatite and faience ; bangles of faience, clay and copper ; toys, and the earthen ware, so well known to us from the classical sites of the Harappa culture. A clay seal bearing the characteristic Harappan script has been recovered from Rakhigarhi, the most impressive of these sites.

But the use of sun-baked bricks for their houses, the absence of street drainage, the use of pure copper, the absence of female figurines, the comparative dearth of antiquities and ornaments and the co-existence of the surviving pre-Harappan elements mark the regional character of the Harappa civilisation in Haryana. The overall pattern of the culture here shows closer affinities with North Rajasthan than with the Indus Valley.

The specific differences in the settlement plans, sizes of bricks and blades, ceramic industry, etc., between the Harappan and the chalcolithic cultures, preclude the possibility of any genetic relationship between the two in this part of the country. The Harappans appear to have entered this region as colonisers, most probably from North Rajasthan. The far fewer Harappan sites and the dominating character of their towns as compared to the numerous pre-Harappan chalcolithic villages, the super-imposition of the latter sites by the former at Mitathal, etc., and the co-existence of the two at several sites perhaps indicate a political bias in the Harappan expansion in this region.

IV

3. *Late Harappa Culture* (c. 1700 B.C.-1500 B.C.)

One of the most important contributions of the Mitathal excavation is that it has for the first time provided a clear stratigraphic evidence of the survival of the Harappa culture in North India. Mitathal Period IIB represents this late phase of the culture. The sub-period is characterized by a progressive degeneration in their architecture, ceramic industry, arts and crafts, etc. Their ceramic industry is marked by a regular devolution in typology while certain classical shapes gradually disappear. Their metal implements, though few, show innovations. The discovery of copper harpoon, ring and axe (*parasu*), some of the typical tools of the 'Copper Hoards' and a neolithic ring stone is significant as it has for the first time provided a late Harappan context for the Copper Hoards. Perhaps, the Harappans adopted new tools types possibly in imitation of the Neolithic tools, in the changed ecological environment. The assimilation of the early Chalcolithic and Neolithic elements in the Harappa culture led to the evolution of a composite character of the culture in the region. It was this transformed Harappa culture that extended farther east into the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, and was called the o.c.p. culture at sites like Hastinapur, Ambkheri, etc., for no better reason than the state of preservation of its pottery, and provided cultural unity to the ancient Madhya Desa for the first time.

What brought about the end of the Harappa culture in this part is largely a matter of surmise as anywhere else. But the recent explorations by the author have thrown an interesting light on the ancient hydrography of the region. The physiographical and archaeological evidences suggest that the Yamuna flowed to the south-west along Mitathal near Bhiwani and Toshani, perhaps forming a part of the Sarasvati system in the pre-Harappan and Harappan times and it drifted eastwards to acquire the *Khadar* bed along Panipat, Sonapat, Delhi, etc., to join the Ganges at Allahabad, about 100 B.C. This seems to be suggested by the occurrence of the pre-Harappan and Harappan sites along the lost westerly course of the Yamuna and the

occurrence of the Painted Grey Ware sites as the earliest on its easterly course. There is also a similar evidence to suggest that the Sarasvati and the Drisadvati were also caught by the Yamuna by the Painted Grey Ware times. These hydrographical changes perhaps led to the growing desiccation of the Sarasvati basin, specially in lower Haryana and Rajasthan, which contributed to the decline of the Harappan culture and forced them to move north-east and across the Yamuna in search of better living conditions. Perhaps, it is these desiccated and desolate parts of lower Haryana and North Rajasthan which came to be covered by the *Khandava* and *Kurujangal* of our literary tradition. The legend of the disappearance of the Sarasvati at Vinasana perhaps also alludes to the above phenomenon when the old channel could only receive a seasonal out-flow of waters.

V

4. *The beginning of the Iron Age* (c. 1000 B.C.-500 B.C.)

The excavations at Daulatpur (1968-69 and 1969-70) conducted by the author, partly in collaboration with Dr. U. V. Singh, have revealed that the Harappa culture in the region was succeeded by the Painted Grey Ware culture, so called for its typical fine grey pottery painted with black designs. In the absence of any overlap between the two cultures it is not possible to point out their relationship.

The period is marked by the introduction of iron. The absence of structures and the dearth of household objects in these levels suggest a simple life of the people. They used bone points as arrow heads and made their tools of iron as well as copper. Copper antimony rods, beads of semi-precious stones, clay and glass and bangles of shell and copper constituted their objects of toilet and ornaments.

The Painted Grey Ware has been collected from a large number of sites, specially in the Kurukshetra region. It has been recovered from several sites which are alluded to in early Indian literature, viz., Pehova (Prithudaka), Asandh (Asandivat), Panipat (Paniprastha), Sugh (Srughna), Kurukshetra, etc.

The carbon 14 determinations from P. G. Ware sites elsewhere have provided a time bracket between c. 800 and 400 B.C. for this culture. Perhaps, this might go somewhat earlier in Haryana, if typology is the correct guide. The preponderance of the ware in the Sarasvati and the Drisadvati Valleys, its chronological position in the first half of the first millennium B.C. and its occurrence at sites alluded to in the later Vedic and Sutra literature might indicate the association of the P. G. W. culture with the Later Vedic and the Sutra Age.

VI

5. *The growth of early historic cities* (c. 500 B.C.-1st century B.C.)

The historical period began in Haryana as anywhere else in North India about the time of Buddha. The period was characterized by the growth of cities and the introduction of coins and the Brahmi alphabets. The use of iron becomes profuse to help jungle clearance and bringing more land under cultivation which augmented agricultural production and provided an incentive for specialisation in arts and crafts and trade. The remains of this period have been excavated from Sugh (1963-64 and 1965-66), Daulatpur and Karna Ka Qila (1970-71 and 1971-72). Sugh (the ancient Srughna) is by far the most important of these sites which had already become an outstanding city of North India by the time of Panini and was the capital of a kingdom of the same name extending to the Ganges in the east, hills in the north and perhaps the Sutlej in the west as recorded by Hiuen Tsang who called it *Su-lo-kin-na*.

The period was characterized by the use of NBP and coarse grey wares. Period IA at Sugh, however, represented a transitional stage in which the PGW and the NBP occur side by side. It is Period IB which marks the growth of an efflorescent civilisation distinguished by the developed terracotta art of Maurya-Sunga tradition, advanced sense of sanitation indicated by the use of ring wells and soakage jars, and the use of silver, copper and lead coins. The occurrence of the silver Punch-Marked

coins along with the Indo-Greek coins of Antimachus and Menander in a hoard suggests the prevalence of the Punch-Marked coins as a currency till about the first century B.C. in Haryana. An interesting lead coin bears the legend *Kadasa* on the obverse in the Mauryan Brahmi and compares with the one illustrated from Taxila by Cunningham. Besides, there have also been recovered uninscribed copper cast coins. Quite significant is a Sunga terracotta plaque showing a child learning his first lesson of the Brahmi alphabets on a wooden plate. A few of such terracottas from Sugh have later been collected by Swami Omanand of the Jhajjar Museum which also contain consonants. These finds are of particular importance in the growth of our knowledge of Indian palaeography. Besides, the excavation throws light on the household objects, tools and implements, toys and ornaments of the period. A bull-headed bottle-stopper of copper is a fine specimen of metal casting in the period.

Nearly a dozen other towns and cities grew in the region in the pre-Christian era, such as Rohtak, Mahem, Hansi, Agroha, Sirsa, Naurangabad, Palwal, Sonapat, Panipat, Jind, etc., as indicated by their extensive ruins, the discovery of coins or coin moulds and the references met in literature. The discovery of the Indo-Greek coin moulds at Naurangabad by Swami Omanand has provided a substantial evidence for the Indo-Greek occupation of the tract of Haryana.

VII

6. *The Yaudheya-Kushana Era* (c. 1st century B.C.-4th century A.D.)

The period is characterized by the Red polished ware and the early historic red ware as evidenced by Sugh II, Daulatpur IV and Karna Ka Qila II. The houses of the period are constructed of sun-dried or baked bricks and hint a planned layout. The use of rotary quern had been introduced. The discovery of a number of crucibles from an ash pit at Sugh suggests the existence of metal industry (copper and iron, both) in the early centuries of the Christian era, so near to Jagadhari, an

important centre of metal industry in Haryana today.

The period also saw the exuberance of the terracotta art at Sugh and other sites. Some of the figurines are marked by an exquisite modelling, rationalisation in ornamentation and drapery and beautiful hair-do, approaching the classical idiom. The heavy drapery and naturalistic features in a few cases indicate Gandhara influence on the terracotta art of the period.

Almost all the early towns and cities referred to above continued to flourish during this period as well. Perhaps Sthanesvara and Sagwan had also grown as important towns by the close of this period. The discovery of a clay sealing at Daulatpur bearing the legend 'Sthanesvarasya' in early Gupta Brahmi characters seems to suggest at least the growth of an important pilgrimage centre at Sthanesvara about this time. The Vaishnava shrine at Tosham, mentioned in the Tosham inscription of the early Gupta period, was perhaps maintained by Sagwan, the only important city in the vicinity in that age.

Naurangabad continued to be a mint-town of the Kushanas and Yaudheyas successively during this period. The evidences of clay rampart forming the defences of this city were noticed by the author in course of explorations. Perhaps, the other cities of the period might have also been similarly defended.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that the above explorations and excavations have only provided a bare outline of the sequence of cultures for the prehistoric and early historic periods. There remain gaps to be filled up and flesh and blood to be provided to a historical reconstruction by more detailed excavations.

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HARSHACHARITA : A SOURCE OF THE HISTORY OF HARYANA

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HARSHACHARITA, the historical biography written by Banabhatta, forms an important source of our information regarding the history of Haryana during the last quarter of the sixth and the early years of the seventh century A.D.¹ Various editions of the text with the commentary of Sankara were published in the last quarter of the last century.² Although several monographs on the life and achievements of Harsha were written by eminent historians like M. L. Ettinghausen, R. K. Mookerji, R. S. Tripathi, K. M. Panikkar and others, these are of the nature of general histories on the times of Harsha, treating him more as an emperor of the kingdom of Kanauj rather than as a king of the Thanesvar region. These historical works, therefore, do not help us in forming an idea of the vicissitudes of Haryana during the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. for which we have to depend entirely on such works as Dr. V. S. Agrawala's *Harshacharita : Eka Sanskritika Adhyana* (in Hindi),³ P. G. Parakhi's *Banabhatta* (in Marathi)⁴ and the brilliant article of Dr. U. N. Ghoshal 'The Chronicle of King Harsha (Harshacharita)'.⁵

For the construction of the history of Haryana, the importance of the third chapter of Harshacharita is great. It provides us with adequate details of its people and their pursuits enabling us to form a clear idea of the economic, social and cultural set up of the region.

According to Bana, Sthanvisvara was a *janapada visesha* in the *janapada* of Srikantha.⁶ Reference in the said work makes it clear that Sthanvisvara, the capital of the Srikantha *janapada*,

was situated on the banks of the river Sarasvati.⁷ The region was so called after a Naga of that name.⁸

The secret of the prosperity of this region was the fertility of its soil which its people skilfully exploited. Wells and wheels supplied water to the crops, and barns were full of high heaps of harvests. Rippling fields of wheat, paddy, mung, masa and sugarcane filled the horizon; orchards and gardens of plantains and pomegranates greeted the eyes. The cattle-wealth of the country was immense. Herds of cattle tinkling with bells tied round their necks filled the country-side; herdsmen were seen sprawling on the backs of buffaloes and singing in leisurely and jubilant moods; camels were moving about here and there and droves of mares wandered freely like deer; herds of sheep grazed around and cows clashed with *arjuna* trees to reach the pond to drink water.⁹

In that country of gaiety and plenty, the people were good natured, hospitable and magnanimous, devoted to their duties and shunning confusion of castes or cadres. They adhered to meritorious conduct, abhorred false doctrines and avoided sin and sacrilege. Healthy in body and spirit, they knew no disease, epidemic or premature death and led a life of fruitful activity and high ideals.¹⁰ This description of the poet Bana is then followed by a graphic account of its splendid capital, the city of Sthanvisvara, its sages and soldiers, business community and artists, scientists and philosophers, temples and monasteries, bazars, emporiums, palaces, colleges and schools, places of religious meet and social get-togethers.¹¹ About the women of this city Bana observes: "Their eyes are a natural wreath, the garlands of lotus leaves are here a mere burden. The images of their curls in the convex of their cheeks are earpendants that give no trouble. Their cheeks alone give a perpetual sunshine. Their voices are their sweet lutes. The gleam of their lips is a more brilliant cosmetic. Their arms are the softest of playfully smiting wands."¹²

The founder of the Vardhana dynasty which ruled over this beautiful country was, according to Bana, king Pushpabhuti whose identity cannot be established by any other source.

Devahuti has drawn the attention of scholars to the expression *Sura Surasenakramane* in the description of Pushpabhuti by Bana and has suggested that herein appears to be an allusion to the king's becoming "a hero in invading Surasena which lay in the region of Mathura ruled by the Nagas".¹³ The reference to Srikantha Naga and his defeat by Pushpabhuti in a duel is explained by the author as "a garbled recollection of a war between the founder of the Vardhana line and a Naga king of Mathura".¹⁴ It is further contended that the Pushpabhuti kingdom later on fell a prey to the imperial schemes of Samudragupta, an indication of which is gathered from the Prayag *prasasti*. This receives some support from the description of Bana who mentions him as 'a remote and semi-legendary figure' and is merely contented in describing his interests in tantric practices and devotion to Lord Siva. The non-mention of Pushpabhuti in Harshan inscriptions may also be explained similarly.

Harshacharita does not throw any light on the problem as to who ruled over the Vardhana kingdom between Pushpabhuti and Prabhakarvardhana. It is totally silent about the three predecessors of the latter who are otherwise known to Harshan inscriptions. This omission needs no explanation because Bana's aim was to describe the *charita* of his patron Harsha and while doing so he had to deal with the life of Prabhakarvardhana and Pushpabhuti, the founder of the dynasty; the mention of other rulers was thus unnecessary for his purpose.

Harsha's father Prabhakarvardhana was a powerful ruler and was the first to assume the imperial title of a *rajadhiraja*.¹⁵ This also finds support in Harsha's inscriptions.¹⁶ He followed a bold policy which made him the paramount ruler of Punjab and the North-West of India. He was also well-versed in diplomacy as indicated by the alliance which he formed with the Maukharis of Kanauj, by marrying his daughter Rajyasri to the Maukhari prince Grahavarman.

Bana credits Prabhakarvardhana with several victories while describing him as 'a lion to the Huna deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of the Gurjara king,

a bilious fever to that scent-elephant, the lord of Gandhara, destroyer of the skill of the Latas, an axe to the creeper which is the goddess of fortune of Malava'.¹⁷

This description of Bana need not be taken in the sense of actual annexation of these kingdoms by Prabhakarvardhana but is only meant to show that he was an ambitious ruler who would attack his neighbours on the slightest pretext. There is no doubt that Prabhakarvardhana ultimately succeeded in winning for himself a distinguished status among his contemporary rulers.

Prabhakarvardhana according to Bana was 'a lion to the Huna deer.' These Hunas were a foreign tribe of Central Asia who invaded India during the middle of the sixth century A.D. Under their ruler Toramana they founded their kingdom in North-Western India whose capital was Sakala. From here they further tried to expand towards Kashmir, parts of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. After the defeat of Mihirakula at the hands of the Indian princes Yasodharman of Mandasor and Baladitya of Magadha, the power of the Hunas was reduced considerably. Prabhakarvardhana's dealings with them as mentioned in the *Harshacharita* probably took place during this period. How far this resulted in annexation of the Huna territory, we do not know. Certain it is that in the first encounter the Hunas were not curbed completely for, according to Bana, Prabhakarvardhana had to despatch another expedition against them. This time it was undertaken by Prince Rajyavardhana because the old age of the former would not warrant such an adventure.

Prabhakarvardhana next came into conflict with the rulers of Sindh. V. S. Agrawal thinks that though Prabhakarvardhana fought with the rulers of Sindh, the annexation of that territory took place only during the reign of Harsha.¹⁸ According to Devahuti, 'Bana is probably referring to the kingdom of Sindhu, which lay not very far south-west of Sthanvisvara and was one of the three kingdoms of Takka, Sindhu and Gurjara which touched the boundary of the Vardhana kingdom in the West'.¹⁹ On the basis of *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram*, *Chachnama* and *Tarikh-i-Masumi* Devahuti suggests that the king of Sindhu against whom

Prabhakarvardhana fought must have been a member of the Rai dynasty, probably Rai Sihras II, the son of Rai Sahasi.²⁰

Gurjara, the third kingdom mentioned by Bana, is to be located in Rajasthan. This perhaps refers to the kingdom of Harichandra, the founder of the Jodhpur line of the Pratiharas. A description of the history of this line is gathered from the inscription of Pratihara Bauka.²¹

Next comes Gandhara which is to be located on the western bank of the river Indus. Bana's statement regarding the discomfiture of Gandhara appears to be based on some raids which Prabhakarvardhana may have carried north-west of Sthanvisvara.

The Latas, whose skill was destroyed by Prabhakarvardhana, were a people of the land between the rivers Mahi and Tapti which formed a part of the domains of the Kalachuris. The Kalachuri king Sankaragana, who issued a charter from Ujjayini in 595 A.D.,²² appears to have won victory at the expense of the later-Gupta king who seems to have obtained some help from Prabhakarvardhana.

According to Bana, Prabhakarvardhana was "an axe to the creeper, the royal fortune of the Malavas." The identification of the Malava king presents a difficulty. According to Harsha's inscriptions he appears to be Devagupta, while according to Bana he was the "wicked king who killed Grahavarman".²³ He was perhaps in alliance with the Kalachuri king Sankargana. The Malava king whose sons, Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta, were received at the Vardhana court,²⁴ was Mahasenagupta mentioned in the Apshad inscription of Adityasena.²⁵ This king after being expelled from Magadha later on appears to have settled in Malava and was on unfriendly terms with Devagupta, a member of a collateral branch. It is not unlikely that Mahasenagupta was married to the sister of Prabhakarvardhana's father Adityavardhana and was related to the family. It was, therefore, quite natural for Prabhakarvardhana to champion the cause of his uncle in the struggle between the two Gupta rulers of Malava. This may explain the basis of Bana's above statement.

Another point which deserves to be mentioned in Bana's

description of Prabhakarvardhana is that he was also known by his second name Pratapasila. This has led historians to identify him with Pratapasila whose coins have been found in the village of Bhitaura in the district of Fyzabad.²⁶

The discovery of these coins along with those of Siladitya and the Maukhari rulers no doubt favours such an identification. That Harsha was also known as Siladitya is confirmed by the Chinese account ;²⁷ but before drawing any final conclusion in this matter we have to find satisfactory answers to the following questions :

1. From the *Harshacharita* it is clear that Prabhakarvardhana was a ruler of the kingdom of Sthanvisvara and remained so till his death. If Pratapasila of the coins was the same as Prabhakarvardhana, then what is the reason that his coins were discovered so far as the Fyzabad district of U.P. and not in his own kingdom ?

2. How is it that he preferred to use his *biruda* on his coins and not his proper name ? There is evidence to show that Harsha did issue coins in his name.²⁸

3. Is it possible that the Pratapasila coins were issued actually by Harsha in the memory of his father after the transfer of his capital to Kanauj ? This may help in explaining the absence of the above coins in the Sthanvisvara region.

On the basis of the information gathered from *Harshacharita*, we have thus tried to draw an outline of the history of Haryana from the last quarter of the sixth century to the early years of the seventh century A.D. To sum up, the foregoing study has taken into account the cultural, social and economic life of the people of Srikantha Janapada and its capital, Sthanvisvara ; examined the historicity of Puspabhuti, the founder of the Vardhana dynasty ; discussed the career of Prabhakarvardhana, the first independent ruler of the line and also considered the pertinent question of the identification of Pratapasila of *Harshacharita* with that of the coins.

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- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
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- ²² The Abhona plates, *EI*, IX, p. 296.
- ²³ *Harshacharita*, p. 183.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.
- ²⁵ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, no. 42.
- ²⁶ These coins were discovered in 1904 along with those of Siladitya and Maukhari rulers. In 1906 Burn wrote a paper entitled 'Some coins of the Maukhari and the Thanesar line' suggesting therein for the first time the above identification (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, pp. 843 ff).
- ²⁷ Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang and his Travels in India*, p. 343.

- ²⁸ On one of the coins of the above hoard, the name Sri Harsha has been read. A gold coin of Harsha has also been acquired from Farukhabad in Uttar Pradesh. See *Journal of the Numismatic Society*, XXVII, 1, pp. 103-106.

Medieval Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF HARYANA DURING THE SULTANATE PERIOD (1011-1526 A.D.)

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THAT the writing of the history of medieval Haryana should have been neglected so far is really a matter of concern for modern historians and laymen who are now conscious of the great need for reconstructing its past history. However, this negligence or apathy is more due to want of adequate source material which should necessarily form the basis of historical study. One reason why there is so much dearth of historical data on the history of medieval Haryana is the fact that the territory never developed into an independent sovereign state in the age we are concerned with. Other territories of India like Kashmir, Sindh, Gujarat, Malwa, the Gangetic Plain, Bengal and the Deccan witnessed the rise and fall of many independent Muslim dynasties after the partial dismemberment of the Delhi Sultanate during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughluq (1325-1351 A.D.) and the Timurid invasion of 1398 A.D. All these states patronised the writing of official histories and continued the literary traditions established and encouraged by the Sultans of Delhi. In the case of Haryana, however, we have no such source material to rely upon, but the territory had a unique advantage of being in the vicinity of the capital city of Delhi and many events of national importance which had changed the course of its history occurred here. Almost all the histories which were written during the reign of the Sultans of Delhi and under the Mughals are full of valuable details about

the history of Haryana which help us to reconstruct the history of this province.

Sources of the history of Haryana under the Sultans of Delhi are many and varied and these may be classified for purposes of our study into the following three categories :

- (i) Persian historical texts ;
- (ii) Biographical accounts of Muslim Saints ;
- (iii) Archaeological source material.

By far the most important and authentic source on the history of the period are the many historical works which were written by court historians. When the Turks first unveiled the mystery that was India under Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi we find that Haryana was an independent territory with Thaneshwar as its capital. The name of the ruler is not mentioned in the contemporary chronicles, but Thaneshwar was a famous religious place, the presiding deity being that of *Chakraswamin*.¹ Besides the prospects of plundering the holy city, the war elephants found in the territory were an added attraction for the Ghaznavid invasion in 1011-12 A.D. Sultan Mahmud was assisted in this campaign by Anandpal, the Shahi ruler of Walhind. The Rai of Thaneshwar mustered all his forces to check the invaders. A pitched battle ensued between the two and after a day's fight the Rajputs gave way to the superior strategy of the Sultan. After the victory the Sultan plundered the city and returned with heavy booty.² Most of the territory of Haryana was annexed to the Ghaznavid empire. Subsequent history of the region under Sultan Mahmud is not known but Alberuni makes references to some of the important towns of the region, viz., Kurukshetra, Panipat and Kaithal.³ Thus the works of Utbi and Alberuni afford little information about the territory.

Our next source of information on the Ghaznavid rule over the territory is the *Tarikh-i-Subuktigin* of Abul Fazl al-Baihaki. In the account of Amir Masud, the author *inter alia* mentions his conquest of Hansi in December 1038 A.D.⁴

For the next one hundred and fifty years the history of this

tract of land is obscure, but when the second wave of Turkish invasions swept over the Indian sub-continent at the close of the twelfth century we find Haryana in occupation of the Chauhan rulers of Ajmer. From now onwards we have a continuous source of historical data about the territory. The two contemporary authorities are the *Taj-ul-Maasir* of Hasan Nizami and the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Qazi Minhaj-i-Siraj. It must, however, be pointed out that the *Taj-ul-Maasir* has to be used with utmost caution because the author is positively biased in favour of his Turkish patrons. He conveniently ignores the defeat of Sultan Muizz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam at the hands of the Chauhan ruler Prithviraja in the first battle of Taraori. But the deficiency is made good by our next authority, viz., the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* which gives full details of the crucial battle.⁵ Hasan Nizami, however, describes in some detail the second battle of Taraori in which the Sultan retrieved his lost prestige.⁶ After the battle the Sultan assigned the territory of Haryana to Malik Qutb-ud-din Aibak. He fought another battle with Rai Jatwan of Hansi in September 1193 A.D. and thus the entire region came under the suzerainty of the Turks.⁷ We have two Persian inscriptions of the reign of Sultan Muizz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam dated 588 A.H. (1192-93 A.D.) and 10th Zilhijja, 593 A.H. (Friday, 24th October, 1197 A.D.) preserved in the fort of Hansi. In the latter inscription Ali bin Isfandiar is mentioned as the local governor.⁸

A clear picture of the history of Haryana, however, emerges from the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* which refers to the towns of Taraori, Thaneshwar, Hansi, Jhajjar, Jind, Kaithal, Narnaul, Rohtak, Palwal, Panipat, Payal, Rewari and Barwala in connection with the history of the early Turks in India. It may be pointed out incidentally that the word Haryana as a geographical entity is used for the first time in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.⁹ Again, in the list of conquests of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (1210-1236 A.D.) the author mentions the conquest of Jhajjar but further details of the event are missing in the text.¹⁰ The details of the territory are so numerous that it is difficult to give them within the compass of this brief survey. This is a well known source and has been utilised by modern historians time and again, though

a continuous and independent history of Haryana under the early Turks based on this valuable source is yet to be written. That the work is also valuable for writing local history of many towns and cities of the province should be anybody's guess.

The *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* of Ziya-ud-din Barani is a well known source. The ancestors of this noted historian originally hailed from Kaithal. When the family shifted to Baran (modern Bulandshahr in U.P.) is not known. Probably it was during the reign of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji (1290-1295 A.D.) that the family was assigned some territory in Baran. He names some of the celebrated men from Haryana, among whom Saiyid Ala-ud-din and Maulana Jalal-ud-din Saiyid of Kaithal, Malik Taj-ud-din Jafar, Malik Jalal-ud-din, Malik Jamal and Saiyid Ali of Jhajjar, Maulana Wajeh-ud-din of Payal and Maulana Fakhr-ud-din of Hansi were famous men during the reign of the Khaljis.¹¹ Barani also records that during the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1266-1288 A.D.) Shaistah Khan, who later on became Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji, was the *muqta* of Kaithal and mentions his struggle with the Mundahar Rajputs of the region.¹² He also refers to a rebellion of the Jats and Mundahars of Haryana about the year 1342 A.D. when a great famine ravaged the territory and the people rose in revolt against the extortionate demands of revenue officers.¹³ Many Saiyids of Kaithal who had joined the rebels were captured and put to death.¹⁴

Another contemporary and very valuable account is the famous *Rehla* of Ibn-i-Battutah. On his inward journey to India he passed from Sirsa and Hansi. About Sirsa he says that it was a great city famous for the high quality of rice cultivated there which was sent to Delhi for marketing. The local governor, Shams-ud-din Bushanji, told him that the city yielded a heavy annual revenue but the exact figure is not mentioned. From Sirsa the Moorish traveller proceeded to Hansi which was then the capital of a province. It was thickly populated. He says that the city was founded by Raja Tura, a Rajput ruler of ancient days, and had a strong boundary wall. He further adds that Qazi Kamal-ud-din, the chief Qazi of the empire, and his brother Qutluq Khan, the Guru of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq,

who later on became the governor of Daulatabad, hailed from Hansi. At that time the *iqta* of Hansi was held by Malik Hushang, son of Malik Kamal Gurg, a cousin of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq.¹⁵ The traveller is silent about the rest of his itinerary till he reached Delhi.

A yet another contemporary source is the *Masalik-ul-Absar fi Mamalik-ul-Amsar* of Shahab-ud-din Al-Umari. He says that out of the twenty-four provinces constituting the empire of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Sirsa and Hansi were two.¹⁶

The *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* of Shams Siraj Afif, a resident of Abohar, is another valuable source for the history of Haryana. This history mainly deals with the history of Sultan Firuzshah Tughluq (1351-1388 A.D.). The Sultan founded two cities, viz., Hisar Firuza and Fatehabad in this province. It was in the year 1354 A.D. that the Sultan decided to found the city of Hisar Firuza on the site of the two villages then known as Laras Kalan and Laras Khurd. There being great scarcity of water the Sultan ordered two canals to be dug in the area known as Rajivah and Ulughkhani, both having their origin near Karnal. A fort was also built and the entire construction works were completed within a space of two years. Inside the fort the Sultan also built a tank and laid out many gardens in the city. It was made the headquarters of the region covering the *iqtas* of Hansi, Agroha and Sirsa and was assigned to Malik Dahlan.¹⁷ Between the cities of Hansi and Sirsa, the Sultan founded another city, viz., Fatehabad on the site of the village of Ikdar. He built a mosque here commemorating the founding of the city.¹⁸ Nearly all the irrigation projects of the Sultan were confined to Haryana and many insignificant towns like Ambala, Karnal, Panipat and Sonapat soon developed into cities of great importance. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* also mentions many details about these cities and canals.¹⁹

The *Insha-i-Mahru* of Malik Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, a well known work on epistolography, contains a valuable letter addressed to Qazi Zih-ud-din of Thaneshwar, regarding collection of *jajiya* from the Hindus.²⁰ In the *Futuh-i-Firuzshahi*, Sultan Firuz Tughluq records how he rendered great service to the cause of Islam by desecrating many temples of Gohana in dis-

trict Rohtak.²¹

For the reign of the successors of Sultan Firuzshah Tughluq, the *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* of Yahya bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sarhindi is our principal source of information. The disintegration following the death of Sultan Firuzshah Tughluq was marked by a long war of succession for the throne. In 1394 A.D. Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmudshah, a grandson of Sultan Firuz Tughluq, ascended the throne but he had control only over the territories of Sonapat, Panipat, Jhajjar and Rohtak.²² In this period of turmoil the nobles of the court fought each other for power. In August 1398 A.D. a great battle was fought near Panipat between Iqbal Khan, the *muqta* of Deopapur, and Tatar Khan, the *muqta* of Panipat, in which the latter was defeated.²³ Iqbal Khan, however, could not reap the fruits of victory for long, for a few months later the invasion of Amir Timur finally winded up the empire of the Tughluqs. There are numerous references to the towns of Haryana in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* for its history under the later Tughluqs. The account is further supplemented by the *Tuzuk-i-Taimuri* and the *Zafarnama* of Sharaf-ud-din Ali Yazdi. Both the works have faithfully preserved the itinerary of the great conqueror, and mention Sirsa, Fatehabad, Kaithal, Karnal, Panipat and Sonapat, besides many villages, where the Amir encamped.²⁴ Minor skirmishes with the Jat zamindars of the territory are also described.²⁵ The memoirs of Timur give a detailed account of the conquest of Sirsa, Fatehabad, Ahruni and Tohana. Full details of the fight with the Jats of the region are given along with a sickening tale of wholesale massacres, extortionate ransoms, forced conversions and demolition of towns and villages, a common feature of the Timurid invasion of India. From Tohana, the Amir marched towards Kaithal where he stayed for several days collecting provisions for his onward march to Delhi. Leaving Kaithal behind he passed through Aspandi, Tughluqpur and Panipat. The fort had been abandoned upon the approach of the Mughal army. The Amir found a rich provision of 10,000 maunds of wheat and many other articles in great quantity stored in the fort. He soon arrived at Delhi. Subsequent events have been detailed in many popular works.

The chaos following the invasion of Timur led many adventurers to grab whatever territory they could. The territory of Haryana was held by Daulat Khan. In 1406 A.D. he was defeated by Khizra Khan Saiyid, the *muqta* of Deopapur, near Fatehabad. Khizra Khan now distributed the territory in jagir among his own supporters. The fort of Hisar Firuza with adjoining territory was assigned to Qiwan Khan. Rohtak remained in the possession of Sultan Mahmud Tughluq. In December 1408 A.D. Sultan Mahmud laid siege to the fort of Hisar Firuza and wrested it from Qiwan Khan. To avenge this defeat, Khizra Khan Saiyid, now a rising general, attacked Rohtak in 1410 A.D. which was held by Malik Idris on behalf of Sultan Mahmud. Malik Idris surrendered the fort to Khizra Khan after a long siege of six months. Within a year he occupied most of the territory of Haryana and recovered Narnaul and Jhajjar from Iqlim Khan, popularly known as Bahadur Nahar. The death of Sultan Mahmud in 1412 A.D. offered to Khizra Khan a great opportunity to occupy Delhi. After a long struggle with Daulat Khan who held Delhi and the Doab, Khizra Khan finally succeeded in defeating his rival and imprisoned him in the fort of Hisar Firuza.²⁶

There are a few and insignificant references to the territory during the rule of the Saiyid dynasty. For most of the period of their rule the Saiyids remained busy in suppressing revolts in the Doab, Malwa and Mewat. Haryana was comparatively quiet on account of its vicinity from the capital and the absence of any potential threat from the West.

The *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* of Shaikh Rizq-ullah Mushtaqi, *Tarikh-i-Daudi* of Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Shahi* of Ahmad Yadgar, *Makhzan-i-Afghani* of Niamat-ullah and the memoirs of Emperor Babur provide valuable material for the history of Haryana under the Lodis. Under their rule (1451-1526 A.D.) Sirsa, Hansi and Rohtak lost much of their political importance as the references to these cities are few and far between during this period. Hisar and Panipat are frequently mentioned. Haryana as an administrative unit is mentioned for the first time in connection with the allotment of jagirs by Sultan Bahlul Lodi. Abbas Khan Sarwani, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, says that

some parganas of the territory were assigned to Mathi Khan Sur Daulatshah Khil. Hisar was under the charge of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani. Shahabad and Pail were held by Masnadi-Ali Umar Khan Sarwani.²⁷ Panipat was assigned to Miyan Imad and Jhajjar to Miyan Usman.²⁸ Panipat grew into greater importance and during the later years of Bahlul's reign it was assigned to Nizam Khan, the Sultan's son who later became Sultan Sikandar Lodi.²⁹ A great battle is recorded between him and Tatar Khan Yusufkhel, the *muqti* of Lahore, near Ambala in which the latter was defeated. No event of note is recorded under Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi till the first battle of Panipat.

This brief study of the sources of the history of Haryana during the Sultanate period shows that an independent study of the region is urgently called for. The extant material has been used only to a limited extent. A case in point is the newly published Gazetteer of Rohtak district. Although there are many references to it in the chronicles of the Sultanate period, the history of the district has been discussed in one page full of many general remarks. The Mughal period is even more cursorily dealt with. Revenue and military statistics of the different parganas of the district are preserved in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, yet these do not find any mention anywhere in the Gazetteer. It is most unfortunate that lakhs of rupees are going down the drain in the name of historical research with no resultant addition to the existing knowledge. Ignorance of facts of history by laymen is understandable but such lapses by specialists are unpardonable.

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PERSIAN SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL HARYANA

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THE STUDY of medieval India, taken as a whole, is fast approaching a saturation point. However, gaps are still visible due to the absence of a proper and exhaustive study of regional history. It is indeed in the fitness of things that the source-material for the provincial histories lying in various forms—numismatic, literary and epigraphic—be studied in its proper perspective.

The importance of the study of regional history, not for the purpose of an isolated view of a region but as a part of the whole, has been universally recognised. Due attention is yet to be paid to the study of the Persian chronicles as a source for the study of the provincial histories.

There is undoubtedly a limitation that the Persian chronicles do not constitute the only source for the provincial histories, and in most of the cases their whole narration revolves around the kings and their courts. But, in spite of all this, barring a few regional and local sources, these are undoubtedly our main source for the study of the medieval period.

Almost simultaneously with the Ghorian conquest of northern India, Persian chronicles and annals dealing with the history of the Muslim establishment and expansion in India have been written. However limited an aim these sources may have, it would not be unfair to say that the Muslim chronicles have mainly added towards the reconstruction of the history of medieval India in its different aspects—political as well as cultural and social. Being almost contemporary and genuine, they constitute a first-hand source material for the varied aspects of

history in different regions. In many cases, just as the present one, these have proved to be the main source for supplying the missing links in the dynastic histories.

In the case of Haryana, for instance, no connected account providing some base for the proper understanding of its political history for the period under review is available. The political status of the region having not been recognised during the early medieval period, it becomes all the more difficult to have a fairly accurate account of the modern state of Haryana in medieval times.

All that is known about the region is not as a provincial unit but only as a tract. It undoubtedly existed as a compact territorial unit till the Muslim conquest of northern India as is epigraphically proved,¹ yet it never acquired a political identity during the period of our present study.

The region known as Haryana or Haryanataka probably indicated a specific territorial unit like many others such as Marudesh, Mada, Haraoti, etc., and was ruled over by the Tomaras as the feudatories of the Imperial Pratiharas, as is known from the two Pehowa inscriptions. Taking advantage of the dismemberment of the Pratihara empire, the Tomara rulers asserted their independence. It was during this period that Anangapala founded the city of Delhi and made it the capital of Haryana. The independent entity, however, soon ended once for all when in the twelfth century the Chauhans overpowered the Tomaras² and included Haryana in their own Spadalaksha kingdom as recorded in the Ajmer Museum inscription. This undoubtedly gave the Chauhans an all India status,³ but at the same time Haryana's separate entity came to an end.

There is, however, no denying the fact that the modern province of Haryana, being very close to the central capital, played a significant role in the political history of this period. Particularly the nearby places of Hansi, Kaithal, Karnal, Kurukshetra, Pehowa, Rewari, Rohtak, Sirsa, Taraori, Thanesar, Tohana, Asandh and parts of Mewat occur frequently in the Persian chronicles.

While it would be difficult and even beyond the scope of

this brief survey to go into a detailed account of all the available Persian sources, it may be worthwhile to draw attention to a few important sources which throw a welcome light on the pre-Mughal Haryana.

That the early Muslim invaders remained in contact with Haryana region is known from the fact that a number of Muslim chronicles dealing with Sultan Mahmud's Indian campaigns such as Utbi's *Tarikh-i-Yamini*⁴ (c. 1030 A.D.), Baihaki's *Tarikh-us-Subuktigin*⁵ (c. 1059), Khondmir's *Habib-us-Siyar*⁶ (c. 1529 A.D.), etc., are available. These and several other chronicles deal with Sultan Mahmud's sack of Thanesar and Hansi—the two most flourishing towns of medieval Haryana. 'The chief of Thanesar', writes Utbi, 'was on this account obstinate in his infidelity and denial of God, so that the Sultan marched against him ... the blood of infidels flowed so copiously that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity, and people were unable to drink it. Had not night come and concealed the traces of their flight, many more of the enemy would have been slain...The victory was gained...and the Sultan returned with plunder which it is impossible to recount.'⁷

About the fort of Hansi, Baihaki writes, "The fort was known in Hindustan as *The Virgin*, as no one yet had been able to take it." In the words of the same chronicler, a tough resistance was offered to Sultan Mahmud by the inmates of the fort and it was brought down only when mines were sprung in five places.⁸

Hansi, Thanesar, Panipat and Kaithal were some of the flourishing medieval Haryana towns as is borne out by the testimony of Alberuni, who even gives the distances of these towns in his celebrated book.⁹

Hasan Nizami's *Tajul Maasir* (c. 1217 A.D.) is a contemporary source dealing with the early Turkish conquests in northern India, including Delhi and several parts of Haryana. That the affairs of Haryana were far from satisfactory and the people were waiting for a suitable opportunity to overthrow the Muslim domination is known from the fact that in the same year (1192 A.D.), a local chief of Haryana, named Jatwan, rose in

rebellion against the Ghorian authority. In the words of Hasan Nizami, "... accused Jatwan, having admitted the pride of Satan into his brain, and placed the cap of chieftainship and obstinacy upon his head, and raised his hand in fight against Nusrutuddin, the commander under the fort of Hansi.... The accused Jatwan, when he heard the news of the arrival of the victorious armies, felt himself compelled to depart under the fort and fled. The soldiers of Islam came up to the army of Hind on the borders of Bagra.... The Hindus were completely defeated and their leader slain." In the words of the same chronicler, Qutbuddin encamped in Hansi for some period where he carried on repairs of the fort of Hansi.¹⁰

Apart from *Tajul-Maasir*, another reliable and contemporary source is Minhajuddin Siraj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*¹¹ which furnishes good details about the political history of Haryana from Qutbuddin's accession down to the year A.H. 658/1260 A.D. Out of its twenty-three sections, Sections No. XX to XXII are very important from the point of view of the activities of Muizziya and the Shamsiya Sultans apart from the account of the prominent nobles, viceroys and governors who were posted in various parts of Haryana during the first half of the thirteenth century.

It is from *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that we know about Hansi as the capital of the province of Siwalik. It was due to the strategic importance of the town that the Sultans always placed the Hansi garrison under experienced and trusted men like Ulugh Khan.¹² The latter is said to have remained in charge of several Haryana towns from time to time such as Hansi, Rewari, Jind, Barwala, etc.¹³ During the Mongol raids, the forces from various parts of Haryana such as listed above were collected to meet their challenge. Apart from giving details about the defeat and death of Prithviraja III at Taraori (seven miles north of Karnal on G.T. Road), Minhaj also lists several Haryana towns which were annexed as a result of this victory.¹⁴ Again *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* furnishes first-hand account of the confederacy of the nobles of Hansi, Kaithal and the adjoining places of Punjab such as Kuhram, Samana, Sunam, etc., and also the flight of Sultan Raziya and her allies to Kaithal and their

assassination there.¹⁵

It appears from *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that the nobles, particularly those posted in Haryana *iqtas*, were quite active in their anti-Sultanate designs.¹⁶ Again a study of the question of frontier under the Sultans of Delhi would reveal that geographically Haryana determined the movements of the armies to a considerable extent. The one common route from Delhi to Bhatner passed through Rohtak, Hansi and Sirsa.¹⁷ The Sultans, therefore, maintained a well-equipped army posted at several towns of Haryana in order to check the Mongols effectively from entering the capital.

Further it is evident from Minhaj's account that the chiefs in the Haryana region lying to the west of Delhi up to Alwar (in Rajasthan), described by Minhaj as the 'Kohpaya of Mewat',¹⁸ carried on hostility with the Muslims. Throughout the thirteenth century the Jats, in alliance with the Bhatias and the Chauhans of Ranthambhor and Mewat, carried on a sort of an organised guerrilla war against the Sultanate. The discontentment and the revolts of the people were evident from the assassination of Raziyah and the daring raids of the Mewatis, as a result of which Balban had to lead several punitive expeditions in the Mewati area, slaying a number of them including their leader Malka.¹⁹

The account of Haryana since 1260 A.D. is found in Ziauddin Barani's famous chronicle, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*²⁰ (c. 758/1357 A.D.). Barani traced his maternal affiliation to a Saiyyid family of Kaithal. From the account left by Barani, it becomes clear that the people of Haryana could never reconcile themselves with the Muslim power at Delhi. The Hindu *ryots* of Kaithal and the other adjoining places, withheld taxes, deserted their villages and took to highway robbery. He relates that during the Tughluq period, the village chiefs like Mandahars, Jats, Bhatias and Manhis, all rose in rebellion in the towns of Kaithal and the adjoining Punjab towns. As a result Sultan Muhammad Tughluq proceeded in person to put down the rebels who, it is stated, had formed *Mandals*, withheld the tribute, created disturbances and plundered on the roads. The Sultan destroyed their *mandals*, dispersed their followers and carried

their chiefs prisoners to Delhi. 'Many of them became Mussalman... they were torn from their old lands, the troubles they had caused were stopped and travellers could proceed without fear of robbery.'²¹

The situation, however, changed with the accession of Firuz Tughluq. Haryana was the greatest beneficiary due to the economic and administrative measures taken by Sultan Firuz Tughluq. According to Afif, "The Sultan perceiving that there was a great scarcity of water, resolved in his munificence to bring a supply thither. He accordingly conducted two streams into the city from two rivers, one from ravine Jumna, the other from Sutlej... both these streams were conducted through the vicinity of Karnal..."²² It is clear that Firuz Tughluq tried to pacify the Haryanvis by withdrawing several oppressive cesses and promoting agriculture by digging canals. Haryana was particularly benefited by the new canal projects of the Sultan.

On the authority of Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*,²³ Yahya Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*,²⁴ as well as *Sirati-i-Firuzshahi*²⁵ (Anonymous), it appears that at least five canals were excavated to cover the various parts of Haryana, such as Jhajar, Hansi, Sirsa, Harni Khera, Salima (now known as Khanpur ka Nala). The irrigational system in Haryana was thus revolutionized. In the words of Afif, "The subjects (*ryots*) were contented with riches, their houses were replete with grain, property, horses and furniture. Every one had plenty of gold and silver, so much so that no woman was without ornaments and no house without excellent beds and couches."²⁶ Leaving aside much scope for exaggeration the material prosperity of the Haryanvis at least must have improved.

Barani and Afif, the contemporary Persian chroniclers, further inform us about some of the administrative reforms carried on by Sultan Firuz Tughluq in Haryana. With the creation of a bigger division of Hissar Firozah, many *iqtas*²⁷ such as those of Hansi,²⁸ Agroha, Fatehabad and Sirsuti, as far as Salmurah and Khizrabad, with some other districts, were included in it. The foundation of Hissar Firozah and Fatehabad, etc., according to Afif, was for the welfare of the Muslim

community.²⁹ The place where the new town of Hissar was founded used to be sandy, and travellers from Khurasan and Iraq, while passing through this arid area, had to pay four *jital* for a glass of water. A fort and a fine palace inside were constructed there. To remove the scarcity of water, a number of canals were laid out.³⁰ The foundation of these and other townships in Haryana added greatly to the prosperity of this hitherto barren region.³¹ This prosperity again further led to the emergence of new villages and *parganas* in the *shiqs* and *iqtas* of Hansi, Sphedon and Jind.

All efforts towards the economic reconstruction of Haryana, however, were nullified as a result of Timur's invasion, the details of which are available in Timur's alleged Autobiography, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*,³² Sharfuddin Ali Yazdi's *Zafar Nama*³³ (c. 1424 A.D.), Yahya Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*,³⁴ and Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*,³⁵ etc.

Entering Haryana from Bhatner (modern Hanumangarh town in Rajasthan), Timur sacked and pillaged several Haryana towns en route to Delhi. The whole route through which Timur passed lay deserted, the inhabitants having burnt their houses and fled from the towns and villages. While in Tohana, Timur writes, "In answer to my inquiries... I learned that they were a robust race, and were called Jats... these turbulent Jats were as numerous as ants and locusts, and that no traveller or merchant passed unscathed from their hands. They had now taken flight and had gone into jungles and deserts hard to penetrate... My great object in invading Hindustan has been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus, and now it appeared to me that it was necessary for me to put down these Jats and to deliver travellers from their hands... I marched into jungles and wilds and slew 2,000 demonlike Jats. I made their wives and children captives and plundered their cattle and property. Thus I delivered the country from the terror it had long suffered at the hands of the marauding Jats."³⁶ Many other Haryana towns like Sirsa, Fatehabad, Kaithal, Asandh, Panipat, etc., through which Timur passed, met the same fate. The inhabitants of these and other towns, particularly the Ahirs and Jats, opposed

the march of Timur through Haryana but there are no instances to show if the centre did anything to assist them.

For the history of post-Timur period Haryana, Yahya Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*³⁷ (c. 1434 A.D.) has been found very useful. Yahya writes in detail, explaining the political conditions after the departure of Timur. That the fate of the people of this region was utterly shaken after Timur's departure is known from Yahya and many other near contemporary chroniclers. It appears from *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* that during the entire Sayyid period the ambitions of the Delhi Sultans became confined to recovering or maintaining control over Mewat and its adjoining territories. The area had earlier remained a source of constant trouble and centre of seditious activities till Balban's reign. As a result of Balban's stern measures the Khalji period witnessed some pause from the Mewati disturbances. Under Sultan Firuz Tughluq, a considerable section of Mewat population was converted to Islam.³⁸

During Timur's invasion, Bahadur Nahir watched the political developments quietly. He gave shelter to a number of Delhi fugitives, including the future ruler Saiyyid Khizr Khan. As early as 1410 A.D, Sultan Khizr Khan led an expedition against Malik Idris Khan who had shut himself in Rohtak fort.³⁹ Although Malik was compelled to enter into a peace treaty by paying tribute and sending his son as hostage, yet the hostilities did not end. The Sultan is again reported to have proceeded against Rohtak, Narnaul and Mewat, where Idris Khan, his brother Mubariz Khan, Bahadur Nahir, and others were brought to subjection.⁴⁰

According to *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, the Sultan proceeded against Mewat again in 1421 A.D. where Bahadur Nahir had created disturbances.⁴¹ A third attack was led against Mewat in 1424 A.D. This time Jallu and Kaddu had created troubles in Mewat region. The Sultan had to lead a punitive expedition against them for a number of years⁴² but without much success.

It is thus clear from the account left by Yahya Sirhindi that a number of nobles posted in Haryana, and particularly in the Mewat region, took advantage of the chaos created as a result

of Timur's invasion and declared independence. Bahadur Nahir and others sheltered many chiefs and were unmindful of the central authority. In spite of the best efforts of the Sultans, nothing beyond the usual payment of tribute was achieved during the course of these campaigns and in spite of the repeated attempts on the part of the Saiyyid Sultans, the region could not be annexed.

For the history of Haryana during the Lodi period a number of sources such as *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*⁴³ (1581 A.D.) of Riza-qullah Mushtaqi, Niamatullah's⁴⁴ *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan*, later known as *Makhazan-i-Afghana* (1613 A.D.), Abdullah's *Tarikh-i-Daudi*⁴⁵ (Jahangir's period), Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Shahi* or *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghin*,⁴⁶ have been found very useful.

Although the Lodi ruler's operations against the Hindu rajas during this period were confined to the Hindu chieftains of the Doab and Central India, Niamatullah gives many instances to show the Lodi attitude towards the Hindus. The feeble Delhi monarchy enabled Bahlul not only to capture Sirhind but even defeat an army under Husain Khan near Ambala.⁴⁷ During this state of political disintegration Bahlul ruled the whole country from Dipalpur to Panipat, whereas Ahmad Khan ruled over the Mewat region.

The final show between the Lodis and Babur was held on the field of Panipat. The terrible contest fought at Panipat for the sovereignty of India is not only echoed in Hindi ballads, but a host of Persian sources such as *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*,⁴⁸ *Akbar Nama*,⁴⁹ *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*,⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*,⁵¹ *Tarikh-i-Shahi*,⁵² *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*⁵³ and *Nafiyasul Maasir*,⁵⁴ etc.

In the long and chequered history of India, the role of a small principality such as Haryana during medieval India, as known from some of the Persian sources cited above, may not be a matter of great moment, but at the same time, no reader can overlook the fact that Haryana many a times decided the fate of India. Whether it was the Chauhan and Afghan defeats at Taraori and Panipat respectively, whether it was Balban or Muhammad Tughluq's raids against the Haryanvis, whether it

was agricultural and economic uplift of Haryana under Firuz Tughluq, or whether it was the sack and pillage by Amir Timur, Haryana did leave an impact on the history of India as a whole.

Many other Persian sources,⁵⁵ including a few mentioned above, if studied in detail, may give us a full and better chronological account of the early medieval Haryana and the role it played in shaping the destiny of India.

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- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.
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- ¹³ Minhaj, *op. cit.*, text, p. 220. Minhaj reports that while at Hansi Ulugh Khan rewarded him with a village there. *Ibid.*, text, p. 211.
- ¹⁴ U. N. Day, *Some aspects of Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1971, p. 32.
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- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212, 292, 314-316.
- ²⁰ Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Alig. text. 2 vols (incomplete).
- ²¹ Barani, *op. cit.*, tr. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 245.
- ²² Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, text, p. 127.
- ²³ *Ibid.*
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- ²⁵ Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi*, Alig. Roto., p. 215.
- ²⁶ Afif, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 295. For some details about Firuz Tughluq's meeting with Shaikh Nuruddin of Hansi, see Afif, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 129.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129. The *Shiq* of Hissar Firoza was entrusted to Malik Delan. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- ³² Timur, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, tr. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 427-433.
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- ³⁴ Yahya, *op. cit.*, text, p. 165.
- ³⁵ Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Cal. text, p. 255.
- ³⁶ Timur, *op. cit.*, p. 428.
- ³⁷ Yahya, *op. cit.*
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- ⁵⁰ Rizaqullah Mushtaqi, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- ⁵¹ Nizamuddin Ahmad, *op. cit.*
- ⁵² Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, text, pp. 94-98.
- ⁵³ Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*.
- ⁵⁴ Firdaus Makani, *Nafiyasul Maasir* (Alig. Ms.) tr. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Mughal Kaleen Bharat-Babar*, p. 350.
- ⁵⁵ Apart from the sources mentioned above, a number of other sources containing stray references about the history of Haryana during medieval period, such as, Amir Khusrau's historical works, *Miftah-*

ul-Futuh (c. 690 A.H.), *Khazain-ul-Futuh* (c. 711 A.H.), *Tughluq Namah*, (c. 715 A.H.), *Deval Rani Khizr Khan*, (c. 715 A.H.), *Kiranus-Sadain*, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, etc., Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin*, *Fakhruddin's Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarakshah*, *Ferishta's Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, and *Ibn Batutah's Kitabur-Rehla* and many others may also yield valuable information.

Modern Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF MODERN HARYANA

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THE TITLE 'Sources of the History of Modern Haryana' probably describes the scope of this paper better than any other. However, some explanation with regard to the definition of 'Modern Haryana' in terms of dates seems necessary. Although it is pretty difficult to draw a bold line marking the beginning of the modern period which may be universally acceptable, yet if it is done with effect from 1803 when the British East India Company acquired this territory, I presume it will not be disagreed to by many.

From 1803 to 1947 is by far a very long period ; and for the sake of convenience it has been divided into two sub-periods : the first, from 1803 to 1857, when this territory was under the British East India Company's rule ; and the second, from 1858 to 1947, when it was under the British Crown.

I : 1803-1857

The sources for the study of the Company's rule in Haryana from 1803 to 1857 are primarily printed as well as unpublished records preserved in various public record offices in and outside India. Of these, the Commonwealth Relations Office (the late India Office Library), London, is a rich repository, especially for the period from 1805 to 1835, when this territory was administered by a Resident on behalf of the Supreme Government in Calcutta. This material is found classified under the follow-

ing heads. For Revenue Administration there are : Bengal Revenue Consultations relating to the Delhi territory, 1805-33 ; Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1828-35 ; Revenue Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors and vice-versa, and Home Miscellaneous Series. On the subject of *Jagirs* in Haryana, the Bengal Political Consultations, 1805-35, contain useful material. For Judicial Administration there are : Bengal Judicial Civil and Criminal Consultations relating to the Delhi territory, 1803-35, and Judicial Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors and vice-versa, 1805-35. For Education and Press, the Bengal Public Consultations and Bengal Political Consultations, 1806-35, may be consulted.

The National Archives of India, New Delhi, also preserves a lot of valuable material on our subject for the years 1805-35, of which the most important ones are found in the following Departments : Home Public (1803-35), Judicial (1830-35), Revenue (1805-35) and Miscellaneous Records. On the regional level, records in fair abundance are preserved in the Punjab Records Office, Lahore (Pakistan). The newly established Panjab State Archives, Patiala, also keeps the following records : Delhi Division Records, 1822-35, in the Political, Revenue, General, Judicial and Military Departments. Apart from these unpublished records, there are some published and printed records too which make valuable addition to our knowledge. The Parliamentary Papers contain useful information which can be supplemented by the District Gazetteers and Settlement Reports of the various districts and states. Besides, there are some books, both old and recent, wherein some information is found pertaining to government and society from 1803 to 1835. Here special mention may be made of the following works of Sir John Kaye : *Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe*, 2 vols. ; *Selections from the Letters of Lord Metcalfe* ; and *The Administration of the East India Company*. Thompson's book on Metcalfe also contains some useful information on our subject. R. Bosworth-Smith, in his celebrated biography of Sir John Lawrence in two volumes, has given a lucid description of the government and society which his subject served from 1831 to 1845 as a junior I.C.S. Officer in different

capacities. The present writer has edited this part of the book with an introduction and notes in the form of a monograph published under the title *Sir John Lawrence in Haryana, 1831-1845*. The latest work of Dr. D. N. Panigrahi, *Charles Metcalfe in India*, makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge pertaining to the various facets of Haryana life during the period under review. In one respect, however, it is difficult to agree with the learned author and that is where he suggests that the revenue administration of the Company at that time was neither harsh nor severe.

Dr. T. G. P. Spear's work, *Twilight of the Mughals*, is undoubtedly a mature study and reflects figuratively on the various aspects of life during the period under study in and around Delhi. B. R. Malik, a Haryana scholar, has discussed this territory's administration at length and socio-cultural conditions in brief for 1803-1919 in his doctoral dissertation (P. U. unpublished). However, his work is found to be an exercise in superficiality. A London Ph.D. dissertation entitled *The Administration of the Delhi Territory, 1803-1832* by J. Holmes is, however, a better work on the administration of Haryana under the East India Company.

For the period from 1835 to 1857 when Haryana, officially the Delhi territory, formed one of the eight Divisions of the North-Western Provinces with its headquarters at Delhi, the Central Records Office, Allahabad, preserves some useful material in the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, 1835-55; Abstracts of Proceedings of the Sadr Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, June 1854-Dec. 1857; and Miscellaneous Records. This information may be further supplemented from the records preserved in the Panjab State Archives, Patiala. Especially the files of the Delhi Division Records, Political, Revenue, General, Judicial and Military Departments, 1822-58, contain very useful material. The Chief Commissioner's Office, Delhi, also keeps old records of the Haryana territory for the period under review.

Unfortunately, no book or monograph has been written so far on this subject. A brief synoptic account may, however, be found in Dharm Bhanu's *History and Administra-*

tion of the North-Western Provinces, 1803-1858 ; Spear's *Twilight of the Mughals* ; and *Haryana : Studies in History and Culture* and *Sir John Lawrence in Haryana, 1831-45*, both edited by the present writer.

On socio-cultural life during the period under study, the material so far available is unfortunately quite scanty and is scattered in a number of places. Most of it is preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, and the Panjab State Archives, Patiala. Other Public Records Offices, referred to above, also preserve some records on the subject. The District Gazetteers, mostly composed in the 1880's and 1910's, and Settlement Reports, some of which were written even earlier than the District Gazetteers, contain useful material. *John Lawrence in Haryana, 1831-45* and Spear's *Twilight* give some idea on the socio-cultural life. For education, mention may be made of the present writer's 'A Brief History of the Development of Education in Haryana, from 1803 to 1947', which forms part of a Kurukshetra University Publication : *Education in Haryana : Retrospect and Prospects*, edited by Professor U. Shankar and Dr. Kundu.

The Company's rule in Haryana from 1803 to 1857 produced in abundance what Francis Bacon, in his famous essay 'Of Seditions and Troubles', calls 'the causes and motives of sedition'. No systematic and critical study of this particular aspect has hitherto been made. However, the present writer has made a humble endeavour to fill in this gap in two of his forthcoming books : *History of Freedom Movement in Haryana, 1803 to 1885*, Vol. I and *Revolt of 1857 in Haryana*. The first book shows how the people had reacted to the Company's rule and how some of them made even sporadic onslaughts on the British from 1803 to 1856. In 1857 their uprising was in a way full and they succeeded, though for a short period only, in obliterating all vestiges of British rule from their territory. This latter theme has been dealt with at some length in the second book referred to above.

A good deal of information on the uprising of 1857 is found in the unpublished records preserved in the National Archives of India, namely, the Secret and Political Consultations of the

Foreign Department and the Mutiny Papers, 201 bundles. The Punjab State Archives also keeps a number of Mutiny Files wherein useful material is found. Besides, a number of books, mostly contemporary and semi-contemporary, are also available, which throw light on the different aspects of the uprising : Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India*—3 vols. ; Malleson, *History of the Sepoy Mutiny*—3 vols. ; Ball, *History of the Indian Mutiny* ; Metcalfe (ed.), *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi* ; Abdul Latif, *1857 ka Tarkhi Roznamcha* ; Cave-Brown, *Panjab and Delhi in 1857* ; Chick, *Annals of the Indian Mutiny, 1857-59* ; Forrest, *History of the Indian Mutiny*—3 vols. ; Ghulam Nabi, *Tarikh-Jhajjar* ; Man Singh, *Abhir-Kuldipika* ; Hodson, *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India* ; Jawala Sahai, *The Loyal Rajputana* ; Mackenzie, *Mutiny Memoirs* ; Keith-Young, *Delhi—1857* ; Martin Montgomery, *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II ; and Raikes, *Notes on the Revolt of 1857 in the North-Western Provinces*.

II : 1858-1947

After the uprising of 1857, the Haryana territory was detached from the North-Western Provinces and merged into the Punjab. For the history of general administration, which remained in vogue here from 1858 to 1947 as a part of the Panjab, our best sources of information are again the unpublished records preserved in the National Archives of India and the Punjab State Archives. At the former place, the Proceedings of the following Departments—Home General, 1858-1947 ; Education, 1857-1898 ; P.W.D., 1860-1947 ; Revenue and Agriculture, 1879-1947 ; Finance, 1858-1947 ; Judicial, 1858-1947 ; and Education, 1910-1947—throw ample light on almost every aspect of the subjects concerned. And so is the case with the following unpublished records available in the Panjab State Archives : Ambala Division Records—General, Political, Revenue, Judicial, from 1858 to 1892 ; Delhi Division Records—Political, Revenue, General, Judicial, Military, from 1858 to 1886 ; Delhi and Hissar Division Records—Political, Revenue,

General, Judicial, from 1858 to 1908.

The Proceedings of the Panjab Legislative Council and Assembly are also valuable sources of information. This information may be supplemented by published records of the Panjab Government, of which the most important ones are the Panjab Administration Reports issued yearly, from 1858 to 1947. The District Gazetteers, Settlement Reports and the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Panjab, 2 vols., may also provide useful information, but only for the period up to 1910. The Haryana Government has been trying to bring the Gazetteers up to date and at least one of these, the District Gazetteer of Rohtak, has already come out of press. Unfortunately, the compilers of the revised Gazetteer have done their job in an unsatisfactory way.

The Census Reports, published every ten years since 1831 (excepting 1941), supply valuable information pertaining to economic, social and cultural life. Papers presented to the two Houses of British Parliament, and Proceedings of the Legislative Council and Assembly, Panjab, give valuable information on almost every important point. Besides these, there are some monographs and reports, published by the Panjab Government from time to time. Information pertaining to Haryana can be easily collected from these sources. Of these, the important ones are the following : (I) Reports : *Internal Trade and Manufacture Reports, Panjab 1879-86* ; *Internal Trade Panjab, 1886-1914* ; *Reports on the Administration/Revenue in the Panjab, 1859-1902* ; *Panjab Excise Trade Reports, 1881-1911* ; *The Famine Reports* (several volumes) ; *The Panjab Famine Code* (1906) ; *Moral and Material Progress in the Panjab, 1864-1925* ; *Panjab Education Reports, 1858-1947* ; (II) Monographs : *Brass and Copper Wares in the Panjab, 1886-87* ; *Carpet-making in the Panjab, 1905-06* ; *Cotton manufacturing in the Panjab, 1885* ; *Fibrous manufactures in the Panjab, 1891* ; *Gold and Silver Works in the Panjab, 1890* ; *Iron and Steel Industries in the Panjab, 1891-92* ; *Paper making and paper made in the Panjab* ; *Pottery and Glass Industry in the Panjab, 1892* ; *Silk Industry in the Punjab, 1885-86, 1889* ; *Wire and Tinsel Industries in the Punjab, 1909* ; *Wool manufacturing in the*

Punjab, 1889; *Construction and management of District Canals in the Punjab*; and (III) *Notes : Notes on the Customary Laws, Panjab Customary laws*—3 vols.; *Panjab Excise Manuals*, 1932; *Panjab Criminal Justice Report*, 1886-1910; *Panjab Law Administration Manual*; and *Panjab Settlement Manual*.

For a study of the political awakening and struggle for freedom in the present century, the following sources may be tapped: Records of the Home Department, Government of India, preserved in the National Archives of India (especially the Public and Political Proceedings); Files of the Newspapers, especially of the *Tribune*, the *National Herald*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, and the *Haryana Tilak*, and the *Jat Gazette*, both from Rohtak. Besides these, records preserved in the local courts and at the district headquarters in Haryana also have useful contents on the subject. Pandit Shriram Sharma, a veteran freedom-fighter of Rohtak, has written his memoirs, *Haryana men Congress Ki Tahri*, which may be considered a good source material. His another book, *Haryana Ka Itihas*, also gives some useful information pertaining to his subject. Pandit Neki Ram Sharma *Abhinandan Grantha* (Hindi) also contains useful material on freedom struggle waged by the people of Haryana under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Duni Chand's *Ulster of India and Events from 1936 to 1946 : Congress Service Series*, No. I, also contain some relevant materials.

Nehru Museum, Delhi, has acquired an invaluable collection of some original papers pertaining to freedom struggle in the so-called 'Native States'—Dojana, Nabha, Patiala, Jind, Pataudi, Loharu, etc. Especially, the Praja Mandal Movement, started in these States in the forties, can be studied in its proper perspective in the light of these papers.

For social, economic and cultural aspects, we may turn to the following: K. L. Sachdeva, *Socio-Cultural Life in the Delhi Territory, 1803-1919* (an unpublished doctoral dissertation: Agra University) which contains useful information on almost all the aspects of socio-cultural life. Spear's *Twilight* may also be found

quite useful, especially his description of rural life in the nineteenth century is quite graphic. This writer's *Haryana : Studies in History and Culture* (ed.) and Professor U. Shankar and Dr. Kundu's *Education in Haryana : Retrospect and Prospects* also provide some useful information with regard to education. Three doctoral dissertations (Kurukshetra University) of Dr. P. C. Jain, Dr. Ram Chandra and Dr. Baldev Singh on the economic life, with particular reference to agriculture, in Haryana may also serve as a useful source for the economic history of modern Haryana. Dr. Buddha Prakash's *Haryana through the Ages* (Kurukshetra University) and Dr. S. B. Singhal's *Haryana*, published by the Government of India, Publications Division, also cover some facets of Haryanavi history and culture in modern times. But both these works are far from satisfactory.

The foregoing is by no means a detailed and comprehensive survey of all the sources of the history of Haryana from 1803 to 1947. The intention here is just to give an introductory idea on the subject. A more comprehensive sweep could be attempted afterwards. I express my gratitude to the scholars from whose works I have taken help to write some parts of this paper, especially Dr. T. G. P. Spear, Dr. D. N. Panigrahi, Dr. G. S. Chhabra and Dr. Dharam Bhanu.

Pre-British Period

SOURCES OF THE PRE-HISTORY OF MEGHALAYA

3 • Meghalaya

DR. TAPAN C. BHARMA

(Assistant Secretary)

Pre-history means the history of mankind before the art of writing and keeping records were known to man. Actually more than 99 per cent of human history is pre-history. It is known from the recent discoveries at Oldoway in Tanganyika, East Africa, that man on this planet is about three million years old, but he did not begin to write or to keep accounts until about 5,000 years ago; that too, in a few selected areas of the Old World. In this context, it may be said that environment plays an important role in the development of civilisation. There are many unfavourable and isolated areas in the world where pre-history lingered on till the nineteenth century A.D. The forested hilly and isolated areas of India, where most of the aborigines live, had a prolonged pre-historic period in comparison to environmentally favourable regions of India (Richards, 1933; Subbaran, 1938). The newly constituted State of Meghalaya, consisting of the Khasi-Jaintia and the Garo Hills districts of undivided Assam, falls within the culturally isolated pockets of India. This region therefore has its own boundary between history and pre-history. This State had a prolonged period of pre-history. History dawned over this region since only a few hundred years of recent past, that too, in the Jaintia area where there was a ruling dynasty. Actually pre-history of this area lingered on till the beginning of colonisation by the British in 1824 (Bharna, 1966).

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SOURCES OF THE PRE-HISTORY OF MEGHALAYA

DR. TARUN C. SHARMA

(Gauhati University)

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The men who lived in this part of India in pre-historic times left us no written account of their activities, but they did

unintentionally leave records of their presence. These records are of various kinds.

As in the case of history which is divided into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern periods, the pre-historic period is also divided broadly into two Ages, viz., the Stone Age and the Metal Age. The Stone Age is further sub-divided into Old Stone Age (Palaeolithic), Middle Stone Age (Mesolithic) and New Stone Age (Neolithic), each consisting of a cluster of well-defined cultural periods. Similarly the Metal Age is sub-divided into the Copper Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Humanity ushered into a state of culture which falls within the realm of civilization during the Bronze Age in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India and China. The most significant contribution of this period is the invention of script.

Among the pre-historic ages, the Stone Age occupies the longest period. In terms of absolute dates it ranges from three million years to 5000 B.C., of which the greatest longevity was enjoyed by a type of pre-historic men called 'Man the hunter'. The people of the hunters' race lived up to 7000 B.C. when accidentally the food-gatherers of the Iraqi Kurdistan and former Palestine made the most significant discovery of history, i.e., the technique of food production. From this time till the discovery of the utility of copper for making tools in about 5000 B.C. in Iran, there lived a Stone Age race called 'Man the food-producer'. Civilization on this planet was possible only after this revolutionary discovery which is termed 'Neolithic Revolution' by V. Gordon Childe (1956).

Sources of Pre-history

Not all kinds of human activities of the pre-historic period are preserved. Many kinds of objects, tools and weapons prepared out of perishable material have since vanished. Anything made of wood, bamboo, grass and similar materials, nearly all animal and vegetable food and so on decay and vanish in dust in a few years or centuries. The sources of pre-history and archaeological records are thus reduced to tools and weapons made of stone, bone and metal, earthen wares

and objects made of baked clay, stone and brick structures, etc.

The archaeologists whose main endeavour lies in recovering source-material for the reconstruction of pre-history are to look for the stone, bone and metal tools, the pottery, the graves, the caves and habitational remains of men who lived in the un-recorded period of human history. These data are recovered through archaeological explorations and excavations and are supplemented by information that can be derived through technical analysis of the artifacts and of the past environment of the area.

Geographical Background

The archaeologists who deal mainly with the pre-historic period are to assume the role of scientists, because they are usually guided by various scientific processes in the collection and analysis of source-material of pre-history. One of the most important aspects of reconstruction of pre-history is provided by non-artifactual data. These data are derived from the study of human environment which comprises the topographical features of the land under study, its geological formations, climate, flora, fauna and many other physical factors that influenced the life of man since his appearance on this planet. The influences of geography in shaping historical events has clearly been demonstrated by George Rawlinson (1900) who says : "The fact that all historical events must occur at a certain time and in a certain place attaches to history two branches of knowledge as indispensable auxiliaries, viz., chronology and geography." According to him no historical study can be regarded as complete without a more or less elaborate description of the country which was the theatre of the events recorded in it.

It is therefore absolutely necessary for us to give a geographical background of Meghalaya in order to project the suitability of the area as an arena of Stone Age Man.

When we take into account the availability of Old Stone Age material, the largest quantity of which comes from the Garo Hills district of Meghalaya, some questions naturally

arise in our mind. Did Early Man evolve in the Garo Hills from its pre-human ancestors? If not, was he an immigrant to Meghalaya? If so, what were the incentives and attractions for him to settle in the Garo Hills? Among these, the first question can be ruled out for the present, because we do not have materials at hand to prove the evolution of man in the Garo Hills. Alternatively, we are to accept that the Early Men who were nomadic hunters found their way into the Garo Hills in their hunting expeditions, and on arrival found this region suitable for habitation. The evergreen tropical forest of the area with its abundant wealth of wild flora and fauna provided ample supply of food to the Stone Age hunters. Besides food supply, the other essential material for settlement and subsistence of the Stone Age Men was the availability of raw material (rock) for fabricating necessary tools and weapons. In this context it may be mentioned that all kinds of rocks are not suitable for the preparation of tools, specially when the tools are made by flaking technique. The geological formations of the Garo Hills are such that the area has abundant outcrops of very fine-grained igneous dyke rock called dolerite which could be easily worked into various kinds of tools and weapons. Further, the hilly topography of the area above 2000 ft. where most of the Old Stone Age sites in the Garo Hills are located provided suitable climatic background for the settlement of the Stone Age people.

Archaeological Exploration in Meghalaya

The collection of material of the pre-history of Meghalaya was started more than a century ago. Godwin Austin discovered polished and ground stone tools in the Khasi Hills in 1875. Later Cockburn (1879) found similar material in the vicinity of Shillong. All these antiquities were incorporated by Coggin-Brown (1917) in his *Catalogue Raisonne of the Pre-historic Antiquities in Indian Museum, Calcutta*. These limited finds and a few other stray finds of polished stone tools provided the source-material of the pre-history of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It must be pointed out that these materials are very insufficient

as they do not give a clear picture of the pre-historic cultures that might have evolved in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. So far no systematic archaeological studies have been conducted in this area, without which it is not possible to reconstruct the pre-history of this very important district of Meghalaya.

The great wealth of pre-historic material of this area is, however, provided by the innumerable megaliths (the rude stone monuments) which are scattered on the hill-tops and inside the jungles throughout the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Some of these monuments were erected by pre-historic people who probably inhabited the Khasi and Jaintia Hills in the New Stone Age. These valuable materials of the pre-history of Meghalaya have not yet been systematically studied. I have visited some of the Megalithic sites at Lailong Kot and Nartiang. The menhirs at Nartiang are of such gigantic size that they would no doubt occupy a unique position in the world. In order to utilize them as source-material for the pre-history of Meghalaya, some megalithic sites are to be systematically excavated without which a valuable source of Meghalayan pre-history will be lost for ever.

The district of Garo Hills occupies a unique position so far as the pre-history of Meghalaya is concerned. The source-material of the pre-history of this district was first collected by G. D. Walker and J. P. Mills between 1931 and 1937. These consist of polished and ground stone tools acquired from the Garos of Rongjeng, Fakhre Adap, Adingiri Molmegiri, Dilmagiri, Rongkhongiri, etc. The Garos call these polished stone axes *goera gitchi*, meaning the Axe of God. They believe that these objects were prepared in heaven by God who hurled them at the time of lightning and thunder to kill the demon. They attribute supernatural power to these objects and preserve them in their homes for bringing good luck to the family as well as for using them as medicinal objects. They are therefore easy to be collected without going to the hills and the jungles. But it must be realised that such stray finds have very little cultural or historic value, as they were collected without studying the context in which they were originally found. The stone tools collected by Walker and Mills are now preserved in the Pitt Rivers Museum of Oxford University. These were studied

first by Professor A. H. Dani (1960) and later by the present writer (1966). These objects prove that the Garo Hills had a well-developed Neolithic culture which probably flourished around 2000 B.C. during which pre-historic people were food-producers, of course in a rudimentary manner.

Present Researches

The next phase of research into the pre-history of the Garo Hills was carried on by Professor M. C. Goswami of Gauhati University who made a large collection of both flaked and ground stone tools. His published works (1959a and 1959b) confirm the existence of the Neolithic phase of pre-history in the Garo Hills. Systematic archaeological explorations by the Anthropology Department of Gauhati University under the authority of the Archaeological Survey of India were started in 1966. Since then the work is being continued by the present writer with the help of his research scholars and post-graduate students. The team surveyed some portions of Ganol, Rongram and Simsang river valleys with a view to examining the pleistocene (Age of Early Man) geomorphological formations and to locating sites, that may yield palaeontological and archaeological records of the pre-historic periods. In course of the explorations a number of archaeological sites have been discovered. There are—(1) Rongram Alagiri (2) Waram Thebrongiri (3) Selbalgiri (4) Michimagiri (5) Watri Abri (6) Mokbal Abri (7) Rombhagiri (8) Rengchengiri, and (9) Chitra Abri. The sites are located either on the ancient terraces of the rivers or on thickly forested hill slopes between altitudes varying from 1700 ft. to 2200 ft. above mean sea-level. Pre-historic people continuously lived on these sites for generations and manufactured necessary equipments of stone on the sites. Most of the sites are archaeologically highly potential. It was possible to carry on a small excavation at a site in Selbalgiri, the result of which has been published in the *Indian Archaeology : A Review* (Lal, 1967-68). The site at Waram Thebrongiri is a stratified one. It was exposed accidentally while constructing a road along a hill slope. The source-material of the pre-history of

the Garo Hills is thus supplied by the evidences collected through these archaeological explorations and excavations.

Stone Age Cultures of the Garo Hills

An analysis of the archaeological data collected in the Garo Hills enables us to reconstruct the development of material culture of the pre-historic people of Meghalaya. This is done on the basis of typo-technological analysis and archaeological classification of the stone tools assemblage. The stone tools collected from the above-mentioned sites are broadly divided into five groups, such as (1) Handaxes, Cleavers and Choppers (2) Flake tools—Scrapers, borers, points, etc. (3) Fine blade and flake tools (4) Microliths, and (5) Neoliths.

The handaxes, cleavers and choppers are large and heavy tools. Their method of manufacture was so crude that this group of stone tools could be taken to represent the early stage of the Old Stone Age. On the basis of typological analogies with the Early Stone Age or Lower Palaeolithic tools of India, Europe and Africa, this group of tools can be assigned chronologically to the earliest phase of pre-history which is known as Abbevillio-Acheulean. The Garo Hills handaxe-cleaver assemblage can therefore be regarded as the evidence of Early Stone Age or Lower Palaeolithic period. The detailed analysis of these material has been done by Dr. H. C. Sharma in his doctoral thesis (Sharma, H. C., 1972).

The evolution of lithic industry from heavy and crude chopper and handaxes to finer flake and blade tools is a universal phenomenon. In course of time the Lower Palaeolithic handaxe-cleaver industry evolved into a flake industry in which the dominant tool types were made on comparatively small and purposefully designed flakes of stone. In the successive period the flake industry was further refined and it gave rise to a very sophisticated lithic industry characterised by long and thin flakes which are technically called blades. Various types of tools were prepared during this period on the blade flakes. On the basis of the technological evolution of lithic tools, we can identify cultural periods of the Old Stone Age. The period character-

ised by the flake tool industry is called Middle Palaeolithic; and the one having blade tools as a dominant type is designated as Upper Palaeolithic. The Old Stone Age originated in about three million years ago and its last phase came to an end in about 10,000 B.C.

All the three phases of the Old Stone Age are represented in the Garo Hills. In addition to the Lower Palaeolithic Handaxe-cleaver industry as mentioned above, we have found here a highly developed Middle Palaeolithic flake industry and an Upper Palaeolithic blade industry. Typo-technologically, the tool assemblages of these three cultural periods exhibit close analogies with the Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic cultural complexes of Europe, Africa and India. The Garo Hills Palaeolithic cultures could therefore safely be regarded as an easternmost extension of the Palaeolithic cultural traditions of the Old World.

About the authors of these pre-historic cultures of the Garo Hills, we are at present completely ignorant. Fossil remains of the early men who inhabited Meghalaya in the Old Stone Age period have not yet been found. Not only in the Garo Hills, but also in the whole of the Indian sub-continent fossil records of the Old Stone Age men are yet to be discovered. But from the discoveries in Africa, Europe and other parts of Asia, we are in a position to know the human types and races who inhabited the world during the Old Stone Age. These human types, excepting the Upper Palaeolithic *Homo Sapiens*, were very different from the modern human races. All the types of early men who inhabited the world during the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic periods had become extinct leaving no survivals. On the basis of this we can safely argue that the Old Stone Age population of Meghalaya was very different from the present-day ethnic groups of the area.

We are fully aware that the archaeological data presented above are insufficient for the reconstruction of social, political and religious history of the Old Stone Age people of Meghalaya. Nowhere it is possible, because these institutions of the Old Stone Age by their very archaic nature are not apt to leave

material records. We can, however, make an attempt to reconstruct the economic life of the people with the help of archaeological data. As in other parts of the world, the Old Stone Age people of Meghalaya were nomadic hunters. Regarding their settlement pattern, we have at present very insufficient data from the Garo Hills. The Old Stone Age men are also known as Cave-men, because they utilised caves and rock-shelters as their shelters in many parts of the world. There are many caves and rock-shelters in the southern part of the Garo Hills. We are not sure whether these caves were inhabited by Old Stone Age people, as cultural remains of this period have not yet been found in these caves. We are however certain that the Old Stone Age people inhabited the old terraces and high ridges in the valleys of Ganol, Rongram and Simsang rivers.

After 10,000 B.C. till the time around 7000 B.C. when pre-historic men acquired the technique of cultivation of plant and domestication of animals, we have a pre-historic period called Mesolithic or Middle Stone Age. The lithic equipments of this period were very small in size. They are technically known as microliths. Of this period we have so far very little evidence from the Garo Hills. But the microliths discovered in the Garo Hills give us indications that there might have lived mesolithic men in this part of Meghalaya.

The last phase of the Stone Age is called Neolithic or New Stone Age. Of this period there is ample evidence from the Garo Hills, but from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills as mentioned above the evidence is still very meagre. Although several neolithic sites have been discovered in the Garo Hills, it is a pity that systematic excavations are yet to start in this area without which it is not possible to present a total picture of the Neolithic cultures of Meghalaya. The evidence gathered from the small excavation carried on at Selbalgiri is too meagre for this purpose. However, the analysis of stone tools and pottery found in this area suggests that during this period some cultural influences from eastern Asia permeated into north-eastern India. This was effected probably through human migrations. The ancestors of the Mongoloid population which inhabits the hill

tracts of North-East India at present most probably migrated to India during this period.

Evidences of pre-historic metal ages, viz., Copper and Bronze Ages are yet to be discovered in Meghalaya. We are also ignorant about the time of introduction of iron into this area. On the basis of the evidence at hand, we can reasonably argue that the New Stone Age lingered on in the isolated hill tracts of Meghalaya to a very late date. The people of this area might have acquired iron from the advanced communities living in the plains of the Brahmaputra and the Surma valleys in the historic period. In fact the present-day subsistence pattern of the hill people of this State which is governed mainly by shifting or *Jhum* cultivation is nothing but a survival of the neolithic traditions ; the only difference is that the stone hoe is now replaced by its iron counterpart.

Pre-historic Periods of Meghalaya

The data presented above enable us to propose a chronological sequence of the pre-historic period of Meghalaya which is given below in a tabular form.

<i>Geological Age</i>	<i>Archaeological Age</i>	<i>Chronology</i>
Holocene	{ Iron Age	Historic Period
	{ ?	?
	{ Neolithic Period	c. 3000 B.C.
	{ Mesolithic Period	c. 5000 B.C.
Pleistocene	{ Old Stone Age or Palaeolithic period	
	{ Upper Palaeolithic	
	{ Middle Palaeolithic	c. 10,000 B.C.
	{ Lower Palaeolithic	c. 1000,000 Years

The chronological and cultural sequence of the pre-history of Meghalaya presented here may at present be regarded as tentative, for confirmation and rejection of which systematic archaeological explorations and excavations in this area are urgently needed.

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HISTORY OF THE KHASIS AND JAINTIAS IN THE PRE-BRITISH PERIOD

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1829 BEING the year from which the British conquest and occupation of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills started we should consider it as the watershed dividing the history of the Pre-British period of the Khasis and Jaintias from that of the British and Post-British periods. The history of the Khasis and Jaintias of the Pre-British era therefore started backwards from 1829 to the nebula of their origin.

This paper is required to conform to the following pattern :

- (1) Nature of source material in general.
- (2) Classification of source material.
- (3) A critical review of the extent and dependability of the different categories of source material.
- (4) Any problem or difficulty in using the source material.

Let me begin with the first requirement of the pattern.

(1) *The nature of source material in general* : At the outset I feel that I must make it clear that the word "Jaintias" was misapplied to the people of the hills living in the eastern plateau who have always called themselves Pnars. The term "Khasi" includes all the original people living in this land now known as Khasi and Jaintia Hills and who are known by different names according to their habitat—Kynriam, Pnar, Bhoi, War, Lyngngam.

The people living on the eastern plateau are called Pnars, those on the central and western plateau are called Khyngriams, those on the northern slopes are called Bhois, those on the north-western slopes are called Lyngngams, and those on the southern slopes are called Wars. There are again those living on the

north-eastern slopes who call themselves Labangs, Khyrwangs, and Nongphylluts. But the Pnars including Wars living in Jaintia Hills having been always mentioned separately as Jaintias, I may continue with the expression to avoid confusion.

The Khasis and Jaintias have no recorded history of their own till after the advent of the British, nor have they any script of their own. They have maintained their distinct culture, way of life, customs, modes and manners throughout the ages, despite the invasion of modern influences alien to their system. We know of their origin as told by themselves only from stories handed down from generation to generation, from mother to daughter, from aunt to niece, from uncle to nephew, from father to son. I have not put this order without thought of its meaning and significance. You will find both in the fact that the Khasis and Jaintias still follow the matrilineal system which is believed to be the system prevailing in the earliest history of man, when his life was so uncertain having to hunt for his livelihood leaving the wife with the children in some cave sheltered from man and beast.

The nature of source material in the absence of written records and epigraphs is extremely tenuous. Its historical value will therefore depend upon a combination of circumstances. There are many things which may not be proved but which we may not altogether disbelieve not only because of their general acceptance by the people but because we have no substitutes for them. There may not be direct evidence, but there may be hints, suggestions, indications, which, when added together, have their own value. It is indeed an uphill task for a historian to create substantive facts out of such thin materials but there lies the test of his capability when he has little or no other help.

(2) *Classification of source material* : Source material may be classified as follows :

- (i) Legends and folklores.
- (ii) Monuments, coins and inscriptions.
- (iii) Socio-religious customs.
- (iv) Language, general appearance and characteristics.
- (v) Accounts left by the neighbouring races and travellers

who came in contact with the people before the advent of the British.

(3) *A critical review of the extent and dependability of the different categories of source material :*

(i) Legends and folklores.

The Khasis have a legend of their origin. This legend is universally accepted by them all. Other tales and folklores have local following only, like those about the origin of some of their royal dynasties.

The Khasis believe that they came down direct from heaven to their present abode as willed by their God, the Creator of heaven and earth. They believe that at first there were sixteen families of them in heaven. Seven families came down to earth where they built seven huts to live in. Because of this, they all call themselves to this day as the descendants of the "Seven Huts" (U Hynniew Trep U Hynniew Skum). When they fall ill and pray to God they invariably invoke the intercession of the "Nine Families" saying : "We the Seven below have fallen, have remained children ; we look up to you, the Nine above ; do plead for us, do stand by us before Mother-God-Father-God (Ka Blei-U Blei)." When they die they believe they go back to join those Nine with God in heaven. The Khasis are fond of eating 'pan' and betel nuts. They measure the culture of a person and of a family by the way they offer these eatables to visitors who call on them or to fellow travellers on the way. And of death itself they say, "Has gone to eat pan in the house of God". Friends and relations who attend the cremation of a dead person throw pan and betel nut over the pyre symbolically for the deceased and also for their own kith and kin who had gone before. There are of course two other legends which are universally accepted by the Khasis for the simple reason that they stemmed from the story of their origin. One is the story of their direct descent from heaven to the top of a mountain called "U Lum Sohpetbneng" (The Navel-of-Heaven Peak) on the right hand side of the Shillong-Gauhati road about 10 miles from Shillong. From there they spread throughout their present homeland as they increased in

number to found separate kingdoms and principalities. The other is about "Ka Diengiei", a giant tree that grew on the top of a mountain known by the same name situated a mile or two, as the crow flies, southwest of Sohpetbneng. This tree with its spreading branches and impenetrable leaves covered the entire world of the Seven Huts with darkness shutting out the light and heat of the sun because they had forgotten their God and their kinsmen, the Nine above. Their first efforts to fell the tree failed. They succeeded only when their prayers, sacrifices and repentances were accepted by God.

The worth of this story of the Khasis as handed down from generation to generation is that of its universal acceptance by every Khasi—man, woman and child. Even the so-called moderns who pretend to scoff at it in drawing rooms or lecture halls, in their unguarded moments, do refer to themselves as the children of the Seven Huts. I need hardly refer to the Biblical story of Adam and Eve and their descendants.

Could those Nine above be their kinsmen somewhere in the north? Modern theorists say that the Khasis and Jaintias are of Mongoloid origin and must have come from the north, from Mongolia in search of metals. Till the advent of the British the Khasis and Jaintias used to manufacture iron which they sold in the bazars in the plains of Sylhet and Kamrup districts.

(ii) Monuments, coins and inscriptions.

We see stone monoliths (erect and flat ones) scattered all over the Khasi and Jaintia hills. These were erected by the people to commemorate important events like victories in war or performances of some great or noble deeds, etc., or by some unusually strong man to prove his prowess, or by some families in memory of their dead, or by some kind persons to provide resting places to weary travellers, or to point out directions, etc.

Each of the collection of these stone monuments have their own stories which we can gather from the local people, but most unfortunately these stories not having been recorded in writing are being forgotten. Since the people had no scripts of their own and writing of any kind was unknown to them

before the advent of the British there were no inscriptions either on any of these stones. And so these monoliths also share the fate of legends and myths. But these monoliths are something concrete for every one to see what kind of people these Khasis and Jaintias who erected them were. We can only hope that a careful collection of these stories and their proper study comparing them with those of other tribes or races who also raised similar monoliths will throw some important light on the ancient history of the Khasis and Jaintias. This is true of tanks also which were reported to have been dug by some great men to mark their progress in their marches or to consecrate a bazar, etc.

It appears that the Khasia kings, with the exception of the Sutnga kings wrongly called the Jaintia Kings and of the kings of Shillong and Nongstoin, had not struck any coins or left any inscriptions. In the case of the Sutnga kings the minting of coins was a much later event, long after they had settled in Jaintiapur and had embraced Hinduism. It was a later event in the case of the two other kings also. The study of coins wherever available, and of any other inscriptions, will throw considerable light on the history of the people for the period.

(iii) Socio-religious customs.

The tenets of Khasi-Pnar religion tell them of one God who is neither male nor female, "Ka Blei U Blei". Being matrilineal the feminine part gets the precedence. "Ka" in Khasi denotes feminine gender, "U" masculine. Anything productive is "ka". The sun is feminine and the moon is masculine. God, according to the Khasis and Jaintias, is formless, omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. Their religion lays down three basic principles : (1) Tip-kur, Tip-kha ('Tip' means know, 'kur' means relation on the mother's side continuously from the original ancestress ; 'Kha' means relations from the father's side continuously from the time of his first ancestress). So all the Khasis and Jaintias, in one form or the other, are related. But so far as marriage is concerned it is strictly prohibited among the 'Kurs'. Marriage within the Kurs is an unforgettable sin among the Khasis and

Jaintias. Those guilty of it are excommunicated, ostracised, disowned and disinherited. (2) Tip-briew, Tip-Blei ('Briew' means Man, 'Blei' God). Man must first know his fellow men to know his god. (3) Kamai ia ka Hok (Labour for righteousness).

The social customs of the Khasis and Jaintias centre round their religion. There is no high or low among them. When a poor man dies, all the neighbours attend his funeral. The rich would not dare to be absent because if they do so the rest would boycott them if there is death in their family. The Khasis and Jaintias judge the respectability of a house by the way friends, neighbours and relations rally to its aid on any occasion when bereavement or any other calamity befalls it. Marriage of a girl belonging to the family of a Chief or of his council of elders to a boy of ordinary family is accepted as part of the game of life; it is never considered as a come down for the family of the girl or vice-versa.

The political system of the Khasis and Jaintias is basically democratic. They have their kings but they are not autocrats. Their kings are not territorial rulers. The land belongs to the people. The story of the origin of kingship is interesting. When the descendants of the seven huts increased in number and they could no longer live around Sohpetbneng, they spread out throughout the land in groups of families. These families occupied certain territories and divided the land into two categories. First, Ka Ri Kynti—the land set apart for the families who came to settle there first. This is divided again into lots for each family. These families have absolute rights over their respective lands so set apart for them. Second, Ri Raid community land, set apart for those who will come to settle later and which does not exclude the members of the original families as they increase. But this Ri Raid is under the control of the Raid Council; no occupant can have any hereditary rights or transferable rights except the right of use and occupancy which ends when one ceases to use or occupy it for three years consecutively. It then reverts to the Raid Council. So there was

no king at the beginning, nor any system of kingship.

The original settlers settled their differences amicably by themselves by some sort of family councils. Later as they increased in number and their demands increased, they found that they were not in a position to settle things in the same old familiar manner. They, therefore, thought of a machinery which would be entrusted with this sort of work. Religion also played a big role here. According to Khasi Pnar religion it is prohibited for a person to take over the properties of an extinct family, to keep the instruments of punishments, or to make use of the income from fines and penalties imposed on criminals. Therefore, a person to carry this responsibility who would be absolved from the inhibitions of religion must be found. The founding families who belonged to the nobility or the gentry would not accept. So a person with no family had to be invented. And so we hear of the divine origin or of the menial origin of the Khasi royal families. Originally there appeared to be three kingdoms ; the kingdom of Sutnga kings, later wrongly known as the Jaintia kings, who were said to have descended from the children of a fairy Ka Li Dohkha, who first appeared in the form of a fish. The second kingdom was that of Malngiang whose kings were believed to have sprung from the children of a fairy who first appeared in the form of a sow. The third kingdom was that of Shillong whose kings were the children of a fairy named Ka Pah Syntiew (Flower enticed) because she was enticed out of an inaccessible cave by daily offerings of flowers. The story went on that from the progeny of those three families came the kings of many other states. But there are some Khasi states whose kings did not descend from these families but were persons who were carried away from the plains during raids, or waifs without known families as in the case of the kings of Mawiang or of Cherra respectively.

A Khasi king is not hereditary in the sense that other kings and monarchs of the world were or are succeeded by their sons ; failing whom, brothers. A Khasi king is not a territorial head of the kingdom. The Kingdom belongs to the people. He only settles disputes and that also as decided and approved by the council of the representative families and of the elders. The

highest authority in the state is the Council of the representatives and elders of villages composing the state. In fact, he is only the agent to carry out the decisions of the said Council. For the upkeep of his family he receives the income from fines, from the properties of extinct families, from treasure-troves, and from finds which the Khasis believe were thrown away by families as part of illgotten gains which, if they keep, would end in their extinction. Lands from Ri Raid were also set apart for the maintenance of the king and his family. On the death of a king, the brother next to him or failing a brother, his eldest nephew (son of his eldest sister), or failing him then in the same order, the eldest son of a succeeding sister became king if the Council of the representative families found him fit and suitable. Succession did not take place as a matter of course nor had the deceased king any hand to name a successor during his lifetime. Succession was a matter purely in the hands of the representatives of the founding families. The only thing binding on the Council was that it could not select a king save and except one hailing from the royal house nor could it select one who was lame, blind or deaf or suffering from any other deformity or from moral turpitude. The selection had, of course, to be confirmed by open durbars of adult males. The Khasi and Jaintia political system has always been a limited monarchy.

It is a very significant fact that in the tales and stories of the Khasis and Jaintias about their great men of the past we hear names of leaders of men but not of kings. Another interesting fact is that women cannot vote in any traditional election nor can they sit in durbars. The Khasis and Jaintias have a saying that it bodes ill once a hen crows, or if she is allowed to crow.

If the Khasis had migrated to their hills from anywhere, they would have got some traditions of such migrations. If they had a leader or a king to lead them to these hills when they first came here, he would certainly have founded a dynasty of his own. The absence of such a leader, and the democratic form of their political system in spite of the existence of a king, must therefore have a bearing on their history. The social and politi-

cal system of the Khasis and Jaintias seems to be unique in the present day world. The Khasis and Jaintias have stuck to it from the beginning of their story as recounted. There might have been races and tribes who have similar customs and systems once upon a time. A study of such tribes and races might throw light upon the history of the Khasis and Jaintias. The fact that the Khasis and Jaintias have stuck to their system is historically undisputable.

(iv) Language, general appearance and characteristics.

The Khasis and Jaintias speak a language which is said to be a Monkhmer branch of the Austric family. The tribes inhabiting the north-eastern region of India speak languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burman origin. None of them belongs to the Monkhmer branch. Their general appearance and characteristics also differ from those of the Khasis and Jaintias. The Garos, of course, are matrilineal in their customs like the Khasis and Jaintias, but the similarity ends there. In stature, all hill-men are more or less the same, short and sturdy, but the facial features of the Khasis and Jaintias are easily identifiable as different from the others. It is said that there are tribes in Central India, for example, the Mundas who speak a language of the Austric family and who also erect stone monoliths more or less like the Khasis and Jaintias, but their social customs, political organisations, religion, general appearance, and other characteristics have nothing in common with, or even approximating, those of the Khasis and Jaintias. Intensive research may be made to see if there are kinships between those tribes and where those tribes of Central India came from originally. There are also other tribes in South India following the matrilineal system, but they do not have any other known similarity with the Khasis and Jaintias. None-the-less a study of those people may also help to trace the early history of the Khasis and Jaintias. They also say that the facial features, general appearance of the Khasis and Jaintias and language resemble those of the people of South-East Asia stretching from South Burma to Thailand. A comparative study of these people also may help to determine the origin of the Khasis and Jaintias.

(v) Accounts left by the neighbouring races and travellers who came into contact with the Khasis and Jaintias before the advent of the British.

The Sutnga kings and the kings of Shillong came in conflict with the Kachari kings and Ahom kings, and in the Ahom *Buranjis* and the records of the Kachari kings accounts might be found throwing light upon the Khasis and Jaintias giving due allowances for the self adulations of the chroniclers. We find in those records statements about the might of the Ahoms and the Kacharis, and playing down the Sutnga and Khasi kings as their proteges, making no mention of considerable parts of Assam under the occupation of the Sutnga and some Khasi kings before the advent of the British. There were accounts of British travellers like Buchanan Hamilton, Pemberton and others, about the Khasis and Jaintias in the eighteenth century. But these people only saw the periphery of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, especially on the southern and northern portions bordering Sylhet and Mymensing, Goalpara, Kamrup and Nowgong. There are, however, palpable mistakes and confusion about the Khasis and Jaintias which make these records lose their worth. For example, quite a number of them spoke of them (Khasis and Jaintias) as Garos because of the Garo population in Kamrup, Goalpara, and Mymensing on the border. These accounts have therefore to be carefully sifted.

(4) *Any problem or difficulty in using source materials :*

There is considerable difficulty relating to the problem of using source materials for reasons shown below :

By their nature, legends and folklores handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation change their content and, therefore, their meaning according to the spirit of the times, the mood of the age and the mentality of the raconteurs. If they are not backed up by relative and circumstantial evidence as may be obtained by a comparative study of the peoples similar or akin to the Khasis and Jaintias in some form or other, or by other evidences wrapped around them, it will be rash to accept the legends as true. But still we cannot deny the fact that legends

universally accepted by the people cannot be laughed away. It is for this reason that it becomes most important for students of history to make a comparative study to reach certain reasonable conclusions.

I speak of the difficulties of depending on written materials for the period because of certain glaring errors in this regard. The Jaintia Raja was never known as such among the people living in the hills now known as the Jaintia Hills, but he was so known simply because the British said so. These people always call themselves Pnars. There were never any people known as Jaintias among the original inhabitants of these hills. This very land known as Khasi and Jaintia Hills was never known as such. It was known as Ka Ri Khadar Doloi, Ka Ri Laiphew Syiem (The Land of 12 Dalois, the Land of 30 Syiems). The Jaintia kings are known even to this day among the Pnars as Ki Syiem Sutnga kin. Sutnga is the place where the dynasty was first founded. It was the Dalois who joined hands together to make the son of Ka Li Dohkha a king to be succeeded by his brother or failing him his nephew (son of his sister) as is the custom in matrilineal society. Later the Pnars invaded the Jaintia Parganas and subdued them. It was after the occupation of the Jaintia Parganas that the Syiem of Sutnga went to settle in Jaintiapur. His conflict or contact with the Kacharis, the Ahoms, and the British was after his settlement in Jaintiapur, and so to them he was known as a Jaintia Raja and this name "Jaintia" was wrongly applied to the people and their land.

SOURCES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE JAINTIAS

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1. Introduction

IN THE distant past when the Jaintias entered the present hills, they came in batches and were variously known by different names of these different batches, such as the Sutngas, Changpungs, Raliangs, Nartiangs, Jowais, Amwis, and many others. At that time each batch was under a *Langdoh* (a priest-ruler). In course of time, while retaining their local autonomy, they merged themselves under one central authority of the Sutnga kings. It is only when the Sutnga kings annexed the plains of Sylhet that they bore their present name—the Jaintias.

The view-point that the Jaintias derived their present name from the goddess Jayantesvari Devi, or from the Puranic and Tantric literature, or from their subject people in the plains, is still debatable.¹ This is so because the Jaintias believe that the term is entirely local in origin. In support of their contention, they say that the Sanskritised term Jaintia (*Zantein*) is derived from the word Synteng.² And that the word Synteng in turn is derived from the following :

(a) When the Sutnga kings ruled over their subjects in the plains, the latter had mispronounced the word Sutnga. Even today, people from the plains pronounce it as Suteng-ga. This ultimately gives the word Synteng to the Hills people.

(b) Another version is that it was actually U Chitang Kongor, the Sutnga General, who annexed the plain territories in the south. From him, the plains people referred to the hills people as Syntengs.

(c) The Khasis also called the Jaintias as Syntengs. According to them, the Jaintias were "left behind" ("Sah-teng" in Khasi) in their Westward migration. Since then "Sah-teng" turned into Synteng. It is this version which the Jaintias have detested, since it is used almost contemptuously to mean "backward people" and, therefore, "left behind".

(d) The Jaintias have agreed that the Khasis have called them Syntengs but for a different reason. It is said that in the past the Khasis used to have commercial contacts with the Jaintias through an old trade-route passing through the Jaintia village of Samyntin (Sohmynting in Khasi). Even now Sohmynting is usually contracted into Synting by the Khasi pansellers coming to the weekly law-Musiang market at Jowai.

(e) There is still another version that the Jaintias are called Syntengs from their ancestral mother, Ka Tein (Teng in Khasi). But this version has not gained general acceptance, since Ka Tein was supposed to be the daughter of Ka Li Dakha.

Today the local people have accepted and are proud of the term Jaintia as the generic name for the Bhois, the Biates, the Hadems, the Pnars, and the Wars who are the present inhabitants of Jaintia Hills. Sometimes they also affectionately call their country "Ka Ri Khad-ar Daloi", the land of twelve Dalois (Chiefs) in commemoration of the twelve children of Ka Li Dakha and U Luh Ryndi.

II. *Nature of the Sources*

Though this paper will concern mainly with the sources of the pre-British period, there will be no intention to convey any idea of the origin of the Jaintias, of the country whence they came, nor of the time and manner of their emigration to their present position. To do that would be really difficult or rather impossible, because they have no historical books nor authentic traditions from which any true picture might emerge. To be precise, most of the sources are only secondary in nature. In fact, until recently, the Jaintias had no knowledge of writing or of books, except their *Paroms* (literally, stories). It is through

Ki Parom that the nobility of their race and their celestial origin are indicated. But actually, *Ki Parom* contained nothing but marvellous tales mixed up with very little truth. Some scholars, however, have made it their particular study to compose a faithful history of the Jaintias on the basis of the *Paroms*, though mostly in vain.³

In addition, there are some external accounts like the Assamese Chronicles on which scholars are trying to base Jaintia history. To some extent they are helpful. But even here we should not flatter ourselves that we will receive accurate information. The fact is that even in the external accounts, Jaintia history and traditions are filled with strange hyperbolical accounts and fabulous narratives. It is only with the coming of the British that we get a relatively accurate account of the history of the Jaintias.

But all is not lost. After all, history is not only the study of the past but also the study of the surviving past. The study of these surviving traces of the past is not confined only to material evidence like historical records or historical finds but also to all those human sayings, thoughts and ideas, glorious deeds and sufferings which occurred in the past generations and left their traces in the minds of the present and future generations.

III. Classification of the Sources

As in the history of other communities, the pre-British history of the Jaintias may be broadly based on literary, archaeological and other allied sources.

The literary sources consist of both internal and external accounts. The internal accounts can be traced mainly through the *Paroms* in which the story of the origin of the Sutnga kings can be found. The *Paroms* also contained some narratives on the growth and development of the Sutnga kingdom until we come to the recorded period of the Jaintia kings.

The other literary sources that can be found in the country are the various scripts used by the Jaintia kings in their dealings

with their neighbouring countries.⁴ The Jaintias had to use different scripts for different purposes. For example, in their dealings with Assam or Bengal, they used the Assamese and the Bengali scripts respectively. Similarly, in the sixteen specimens of Jaintia coins we find traces of the old Devanagri script. The Devanagri script can also be found in the rock inscriptions between Sunapur and Kuliang. Moreover, the fifteen silver-plated coins, recently unearthed in Jowai, bear Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The above local findings may help the scholars in partly reconstructing Jaintia relations with her neighbours. Perhaps, the official records of the *Jayantia Raj Durbar* may also be treated as local sources of information.

Literary accounts can also be had from external sources. In this category we have the classical accounts of the Greeks and the Romans like the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, Strabo's *Geography*, and Pliny's *Natural History* for the period from about the fifth century B.C. to around the second century A.D. In these writings we have an account of the hills people like the Sesatae which might have referred to the present day Jaintia Hills.⁵ Similarly, the Burmese accounts contain a reference to the Jaintia kingdom of Wethali about the third century B.C.⁶ The Chinese record, *Shung-Shu* (420-479 A.D.), even suggested that the Jaintia kingdom of Kae-pih-le (Kupli) had sent an ambassador to China in 428 A.D.⁷

In the Puranic and Tantric literature (500 B.C.-1100 A.D.) also we have a reference to the land to be later on occupied by the Jaintias in the plains of Sylhet (Srihatta).⁸ By the time of the *Rajatarangini* (1148-49 A.D.) of Kashmir, references were made to a Women's kingdom (Stri-Rajya) in the east which had been identified with the Jaintia kingdom.⁹

Ever since the annexation of the plains of Sylhet (1250 A.D.), information about Jaintia history can be collected from the *Ahom Buranji*, the *Bansabali* of the Koches, the *Jayantia Buranji*, the *Kachari Buranji*, the *Rajamala* of Tripura, and the *Tungkhungia Buranji*, where accounts of inter-state relations are given. Even in the Persian *Ain-i-Akbari* of the Mughals, we

find a reference to Jayantia Mahal.¹⁰ And about the Anglo-Jaintia relations, the official records of the East India Company constitute our sources of information.

With this we come to the archaeological evidence. Various scholars have tried to reconstruct the early history of Jaintia kingdom on the basis of inscriptions, coins, monuments, and pre-historic remains.¹¹ The caves at Syndai and Sutnga, the few neolithic finds, the numerous megaliths, the number of coins with inscriptions, the stone-bridges at Thlumuwi and Umiaknieh, the carvings at Rupasor, Khim-Musniang, and Sutnga, the foot-prints of U Sajar Nangli, the lakes at Thadlaskein, Nartiang, and Sutnga, the Palace of Mar Kusain at Borkhat, the underwater carving of two stone-pestles near Dawki bridge, and various other archaeological remains may help us in interpreting Jaintia history.

Other allied information may be gathered from migration, ethnography, and philology. Many writers stress the fact that the Jaintias had migrated from the East.¹² This was based mostly on ethnographical and linguistic evidences. Cultural affinities with some other communities in the East also constitute another source of information.

The above classification of the sources is by no means exhaustive. There is always the possibility of finding or adding new sources of information. Modern historical methods of inquiry and research may produce other evidences to throw further light on the obscure history of the Jaintias.

IV. *A Critical Review of the Sources*

A review of the above sources will be confined mostly to the early period. At the same time the review will not be in a chronological order nor on the basis of the classification of sources, but according to historical sequence.

A close look at the above sources reveals that most of them cannot be wholly relied upon. The scripted evidences are very few and contain a number of wide gaps. For example, the

Jaintia coins dating from 1669 A.D. to 1790 A.D. do not throw much light on Jaintia history. However, the scripts and coins may help us in ascertaining the annexation of the Southern plains. Similarly they indicate that the Jaintias had established relations with the neighbouring kingdoms of Assam, Bengal, Cachar, and the Mughals.

As regards *Ki Parom*, they are also not very reliable. In the process of handing them down from one generation to another, the accounts may get either contracted or exaggerated. As pointed out earlier, most of the *Paroms* are simply mythical stories. For example, it is very difficult to accept the statement that the Sutnga kings came out of a divine fish, Ka Li Dakha. Had it been so, her descendants would have refrained from taking fish. Instead, they relish both the dehydrated and fresh fish. There is no proof of the contention that in the past they refrained from taking a particular kind of fish. It would be easier, therefore, to say that the origin of the Sutnga kings was not from a fish but most probably from a girl of the Bharali clan of the plans whom U Luh Ryndi of Amwi had married.

Another difficulty with the *Paroms* is the problem of identification. For example, there are four versions relating to the children of Ka Li Dakha. The first version gives one male and one female (Ka Lasubon) as her two children. The second gives Ka Tein Ka Lieh, Ka Pung, and Ka lang as her four daughters. The third tells us that she had three sons, U Chyngklein-Am, U Wania-Am and U Tatia Ksaw; and two daughters, Ka (Rapu) tong, and Ka (Rapu) nga. And yet the fourth furnishes a list of twelve children, Ka Ngo, Ka Kia, Ka Dap, Ka Yo, Ka Juh, Ka Wet, Ka Liar, Ka Long, Ka He, Ka Nga, Ka Kem, and Ka Pang.¹³

Therefore a confusion arises unless we take it that the first three versions may have referred to Ka Li Dakha's stay at Ainwi and the fourth version to her stay at Sutnga. But even then it may not be really possible for Ka Li Dakha to bear a total of twenty-three children. However, after duly considering her possible fertility rate, we may come down to nineteen children—the four daughters of the second version, the three sons of the third version, and the twelve daughters of the fourth ver-

sion. The rest may be regarded as duplication in narratives, or references to the later period as in the case of Ka Lasubon, and the legend of Ka Raputong, and Ka Rapunga. Ka Lasubon might have referred to one of the two daughters of Ka Nga—Ka (Li) Bon, and Ka (Li) Het.¹⁴ Similarly, Ka Raputong, and Ka Rapunga might have referred to a later period when they shared the Sutnga state administration.

The other mythical version of a certain Garo, Landahvar by name, who wandered to Khootungah (Sutnga) marrying a princess from the plains by the name of Mutchodduree, is only an indication of Brahmanical influence on the Jaintia kingdom. Undoubtedly it is a later version belonging to about 1250 A.D. But some scholars are trying to tie it with the pre-historic version of Ka Li Dakha.¹⁵ While the pre-historic version referred to the origin of the Sutnga kings, the later version referred to the origin of the Jaintia kingdom. Actually, the Jaintia kingdom was not founded by U Bor Kuhain, son of Landahvar, but by U Chitang Kongor, who annexed the plains territory in a manner similar to the founding of Carthage by Queen Dido. But the history of this famous Jaintia General cannot be fully appreciated unless we treat U Chitang and U Sajar Nangli as the same person.

The father of the present writer told him that U Chitang of the *Riat-Iam-Ser Parom* was known as U Kup Dhup before he married the Sutnga princess and as U Sajar after the annexation of the plains. U Chitang became U Sajar when he had mistakenly beheaded his wife, who suddenly came out from amidst the tall grasses of the plains, to welcome him from his mission of setting up the twelve Dalois in the hills. Since then he called himself U Sajar from the two Jaintia words "Saja" and "niangjar" (torture and sadness). After this the well-known episode between U Sajar and U Bor Kuhain (1250 A.D.) developed. This account may remove the contradictions in some other accounts placing U Sajar in a period ranging from 1515 A.D. to 1625 A.D.¹⁶

That the legend of Ka Li Dakha was much earlier can also be corroborated with the help of other external accounts. The Chinese record, mentioned above, had referred to the capital of

the kingdom of Kae-pih-le as situated on the side of a lake to the east of a river. This fits in with the old capital at Sutnga; in which case the Sutnga kings had already come out of *Ka Thwai Syiem* (Royal Lake) even before the fifth century A.D. Perhaps that is why many scholars, while rejecting that Kae-pih-le referred to Kapilavastu, had identified it with the kingdom near the river Kupli.¹⁷

The similarity of the place-name like Kupli with Kapilavastu is not confined to the Chinese record alone. The Burmese record also showed that the Sutnga kingdom was known as the kingdom of Wethali. That the Burmese did not have any confusion between Vaisali and Wethali is clear from the Burmese version of Article 2 of the Treaty of Yandabo, 1826, where we read "Wethali" for "Jaintia" of the English version.

Now this is really a challenging task for the scholars to go very deeply into the origin of the Sutnga kingdom. The Burmese account showed that the first king of Wethali was from the female line, by the name of Susanaga and reigning in 472 B.C.¹⁸ The Burmese then claimed that Dhama-Sauka's son of the kingdom of Wethali became their first king in 301 B.C. But another Burmese (Arakanese) account stated that the fifty-fourth king of Wethali was Maha-taing-tshandra in 788 A.D.¹⁹ Now how to interpret these Chinese and Burmese accounts?

From the Chinese account, we may say that the first ruler must be earlier than 428 A.D. And as regards the Burmese accounts we may not accept 472 B.C. as the date for the first king of Jaintia, but we may accept the third century B.C. counting down from the fifty-fourth king mentioned above. The fifth century B.C. may be the date of Jaintia migration to Southern China, Burma, and other places from the plains and foothills around Northern India (Vaisali/Wethali), and the third century B.C. as the date of their migration to the Jaintia Hills (Wethali/Vaisali) from Burma. This made it possible for the Greeks and the Romans to refer to the Kiratas around the same period.²⁰ With this we come to the question of migration.

Most of the accounts of Jaintia migration were based on racial, linguistic, cultural, social and political factors. Many

scholars opine that the Jaintias came from the East. There can be no two opinions on this. But we should further try to open up new fields of inquiries as to the origin of their migration.

The Burmese accounts mentioned above indicated that the Jaintias could have come from the West. Other writers also believe that it was the early Mediterraneans, a branch of the Proto-Australoids from Palestine, who gave the world the Austro-Asiatic Speech.²¹ There are also accounts that the Mediterranean-Dravidians passed through Assam to Indonesia.²² And finally, the relations between the Austro-Asiatics and the Sumerians had also been established by another writer.²³

In addition, there has been a local tradition about their coming from the region around West Asia. Sometimes in the 1940s or so, an account of this earliest migration was given by one Khasi lady. Unfortunately, a copy of that booklet is no longer available. One of the uncles of the present writer brought out a similar theory of Jaintia migration a decade ago. When he was asked for proofs, he brought out a comparative study of Jaintia customs and traditions with those of the Jews. His field study was confined to Myrwai and Sakymphor villages near Changpung. Though we may not be convinced about this theory, yet the possibility of such a migration cannot be ruled out.

The gist of this tradition is that from Palestine, a branch of the tribe of Manasseh under a female line had crossed over into Egypt and Ethiopia.²⁴ From Africa they crossed the Red Sea into ancient Sumer and Akkad, and ultimately to India. In the process, the Jaintia sun-goddess (Ka Blai Sngi) of Changpung might have been just the female counterpart of the sun-god (Ra) of Egypt. And recently in Archaeology 2391 even the megalithic cultures of Ethiopia and Jaintia Hills have been shown to have similarities.²⁵ In the same way, we still have an administrative unit in Jaintia Hills by the name of Sumer, and one Jaintia clan also bears the title of Sumer to this day. And to the Burmese the area around Cachar and North Cachar was known as Akkabad (Akkad).

It has also been said that while in the plains and foot-hills

of Northern India, they had picked up a number of Sanskrit words. For example, the expression "duriaw" for the sea could have been derived from the last syllable of Sanskrit "Samudra". Without ever having experience of crossing the seas and oceans, it would be difficult for them to have such expressions when there is no sea and ocean around their present hills.

From the plains and foot-hills of Hindusthan, the Manasseh tribe continued their east-ward migration to southern China. It is from here that they spread into various directions. One branch came to Burma where they were known as Mans (or Mons), probably the shortened form of Manasseh. Many writers agree that the Jaintias have similarities with the Mons.²⁶ However, there is one difficulty with the Mons, and this concerns the term "Talaing" applied to the Mons by the Burmese. The Burmese called them Talaing or "trodden under foot", either because they were defeated by the Burmese or because they occupied the low-lying areas of Burma.²⁷ However, the main problem is that the Mons or Talaings might have come from Telangana of Andhra Pradesh.²⁸

But if we look into the Malagasians, perhaps we may overcome this difficulty. It has been found out that the Malagasians have cultural similarities with the Jaintias, at least in the matter of metallurgy.²⁹ The point is that in the course of their West-ward migration from South-East Asia, some of the Malagasians (Mons) could have stopped half-way over Telangana on their way to the Malagasy Republic. And when they returned to Burma from Telangana they got the name Talaing. One writer at least hinted that the Jaintias might have come from South India when he said that the Sarawas of Madras came by way of Bengal to their hills.³⁰ Perhaps, the Sarawas could have been the Seres mentioned by Pliny in his reference to Assam.³¹ But all this involves a geographical consideration.

From the point of view of human geography, the identification of the Kiratas with the Jaintias and other tribes by various scholars requires more study in depth. Moreover, the physical geographers may help us in understanding the formation and development of North-East India region. According

to the theory of continental drift, Malagasy had been once a part of Gondwanaland.³² Though this theory is on the point of being discarded, it is still necessary to probe it further.

Perhaps it is worth while to have a working hypothesis that Malagasy, South India, and South-East Asia at one time met near about the Bay of Bengal connecting the land mass of North-East India region. If the physical geographers can prove this, human geographers can help us in connecting the people of the Malagasy Republic, some of the communities of South India, the Menangkabaus of Malaysia and Indonesia, and the Jaintias of Meghalaya. Of these the Menangkabaus are so similar to the Jaintias in their social system.³³ Perhaps the first syllable "Men" may be traced to the root "Man", and ultimately to the Manasseh tribe of Palestine as in the case of the Jaintias.

The present writer's father told him about one of the *Paroms* which apparently combines the continental drift theory, the geological theory of rock formation, as well as the chemical theory of organic matters. According to him, present-day Jaintia Hills was once a swampy land with many big lakes, big enough to shelter the aquatic monsters. Whenever people built houses, the latter fell down the following morning due to weak foundations. Ultimately they prayed to God, the creator (U Tre Kiro), who used two of his agents, the thunder (U Pyrthat) and the earthquake (U Khmi), to drain away the waters of the swampy lands to the southern sea created by the raising up of the Himalayas (Loom Makachiang) to the north. And it was during this event that the Jaintia deluge took place, scattered the people in all directions, caused them to lose their scripts, and had to treasure their history and traditions only through the *Paroms*. Even today in the interior of Jaintia Hills, whenever earthquake occurs, we will invariably hear people invoking their ancestors by calling "Khaisan Khai-Heh" (literally, Awake Elders). They also offer sacrifices to U Pyrthat for helping them to drain away their land in the form of winding rivers, Kupli being the foremost.

V. *Problems and Difficulties in Using the Sources*

The problems and difficulties in using the sources have already been hinted at in the above sections. Regarding literary sources, not much reliance could be placed on the *Paroms* because there are various versions of the same *Parom* in the different areas of Jaintia Hills. So it requires a thorough understanding of each version of the same *Parom* before we attempt to interpret Jaintia history. Similarly, we have difficulties with the external accounts. The Greek, Roman, Chinese, and Burmese accounts fail to identify properly place names, tribes, and dynasties. In addition, we have linguistic problems. Most of these accounts are translations of the original. In other words, they are merely secondary sources. A study of the original accounts, therefore, requires an expertise in the classical languages. This is equally true with the accounts nearer home, like the various *Buranjis* where a knowledge of the Tai language is necessary.

The archaeological evidences are not better than literary evidences either. For example, even with modern scientific equipments the dating of the neolithic culture of the Jaintias may be difficult. In West Asia the period of the neolithic age was fixed around 7,000 B.C., whereas in Europe it was 3,000 B.C.³⁴ In any case, there must have been original settlers, other than the Jaintias, who were the fore-runners of the neolithic culture in their present hills. This difficulty arises because the Jaintias could come to their present position only in the third century B.C.

Other allied sources of information—like migration, ethnography, and philology—also offer problems and difficulties. For example, it is very difficult to explain why all on a sudden we find people on the hills of Southern China spreading over South-East Asia. Hill tops may not be the home of the first people on earth. They must have come from the plains, river valleys, or coastal lands. And as they moved along, their physical complexion also changed with the change in climatic conditions. Sometimes their languages also underwent changes either as a natural process or by picking up some words from the other immigrants. So, on the basis of philology alone, it is difficult to say whether different communities have the same origin or

that they simply borrowed words from each other in the course of their migration.

Another difficulty is that, sometimes we tend to judge people of the past by our own standards. Imagination is, no doubt, very essential in interpreting history. But any imaginative understanding should be based on precise learning. This is, of course, not an easy task, since it involves asking the right questions capable of producing fruitful answers.

Finally, limited sources of information may also lead us to take a short cut to historical interpretation. The early history of the Jaintias, it must be emphasised, is not a study of one current or stream only. It contains, as in any history, a total of value-experiences of the people. The value-experiences may take the form of political, economic, religious, moral, aesthetic, and intellectual streams or currents. To stress only the political experiences of the Jaintias, as is usually done, is to miss the other dimensions of their history. Other value-experiences are equally important. For example, on the question of religious and moral experiences, modern historians may not agree that God had ordained U Kiang Nongbah, the Jaintia hero, to lead his people against the British. But that was the belief of U Kiang Nongbah and his followers which shaped and influenced the third Anglo-Jaintia War, 1861-63. And it is in the light of not only political but also religious and moral experiences of the Jaintia people that we have to interpret the course of that historical event. Even sports and games sometimes help us to understand an historical event. U Sajar became so popular not so much for his historic annexation and administration as for his laying down the foundation of Jaintia sports and games, and for introducing various kinds of musical instruments. His popularity was quite alarming to king Bor Kuhain who then sought to destroy him.

IV. Conclusion

In the above sections an attempt has been made to indicate the obscure nature of the sources of early Jaintia history.

Though the sources are not exhaustive, their classification has been made on the basis of three broad divisions—literary, archaeology, and other allied sources. In the section dealing with a critical review of these scanty sources, an attempt has been made not so much to criticise as to assess them. While assessing these incomplete sources, certain suggestions for making further inquiries into possible sources have also been offered. But we still have problems and difficulties in using these limited sources, partly due to their secondary nature, and partly from the excessive use of imagination in interpreting history, as well as depending too much on a single-factor history.

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- ¹⁰ E. A. Gait, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-320, and p. 329.
- ¹¹ H. Bareh, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-29.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-19.
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SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE KHASIS AND JAINTIAS

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MEGHALAYA has an ancient history. Its reconstruction, however, is difficult owing to the paucity of materials. The sources fall into different categories. In respect of literature, we have limited materials upon which attempt at reconstruction can be based. Literature, mainly in the shape of foreign records and correspondence, does not unfortunately give an adequate insight into the internal conditions. Moreover, some of the information, collected from the contemporary Ahom or Assamese chronicles, does not agree with that obtained from the earliest records of the British Government. The lack of a consistent or coherent literary evidence presents a problem as regards the arrangement of materials. Allied sciences, such as anthropology and archaeology, may be utilised as supplementary sources of information. Antiquarian studies have also to be properly utilised for determining some aspects of the history of this ancient land. Legends and traditions, collected at historical places, furnish good information and historical insight in many cases.

Social or cultural history is as important as political history for the Khasis and Jaintias. It helps us to trace the stages of the growth of their social institutions, such as the isolated matrilineal organisation, the local diversifications, assumptions and assimilations. The variance of the matrilineal laws of inheritance from the laws of succession to the offices of kings and chieftains is interesting to note. How this system has deeply integrated itself into the local form of polity and economy is a question that needs an enlightened answer. The economy, connected in particular with the region's horticultural system,

iron-smelting and mercantile methods, is of interest to an inquisitive historian who seeks to trace the stages in the region's growth. Again the study of its art and sculpture, its megalithic potentialities, their origin and growth, provides food for thought. The reconstruction of tribal history becomes difficult owing to limited sources. The ancient period becomes more obscure. The tradition, which recounts certain phenomena or events, becomes a valuable source but needs corroborative evidence from local historical relics. Tradition cannot be treated in all cases as a mere hearsay. The tradition which does receive corroboration from archaeological excavations or anthropological findings becomes a history in itself. Now let us examine some of the sources of the ancient, medieval and pre-British periods.

ANCIENT PERIOD

Not much literary evidence is available for reconstructing the pre-historical period. The people did not possess a script of their own. The modern Roman alphabet was introduced only in 1841. Before the advent of the British, the Khasis used Assamese and Bengali for keeping records with their own people and neighbours. The tradition points to an ancient script inscribed on the bark of trees. It says that this ancient script was lost in a deluge. Another tradition says it was consumed in the flames of a great fire which occurred at Madur Maskut and Nongkseh, the ancient headquarters of great sovereigns. We have no evidence to show that the script really existed. The Mons, who fought with the Burmese in Burma during the long ages past for supremacy, had a script of their own which is similar to Tai. The Mons and the Khmers were culturally and linguistically connected with the Khasi and Jaintia people on the basis of linguistic and anthropological evidence. They became separated at one time, but we have no means to suggest that the ancient Mon and Khasi scripts belong to a similar orthography. With regard to the ancient period, a historian, therefore, has to solicit the help of archaeological and anthropological data. An intensive study of the antiquities in the ancient ruins, stone

remains, sculpture and architecture, with corroborative evidence from the local traditions, is so very essential to bring to light the by-gone history. But a corroborative and more skilful interpretation is again necessary to reach a safe conclusion. Historical relics are the surest proofs. The scholar with a strong historical sense should be able to find out from them details of past events. A tradition with corroborative background is worth relying upon, but its distance from a myth has to be ascertained. There is need for intensive field work. Traditions are sometimes consistent and at other times inconsistent with a phenomenon or event of historical importance, and the historian's main task is to compare, evaluate and co-ordinate them.

The service of archaeology is needed in view of the strong megalithic culture which prevails. Stone relics of various motifs and size, dotted along the ancient king's headquarters and great markets, have immense significance. The historical process and order indicated by them varied from the history of the neighbouring countries. The heap of ruins at Madur Maskut is an instance of these relics. A military trench at Nongkseh, the ancient Khyrim headquarter where warriors received training in trench warfare, is a leaf from history. The similarity of these stones to those of Indonesia, Sarawak, Borneo and Burma is impressive, being connected with strong cultural migrations. Archaeological and anthropological data give a glimpse into ancient history. The linguistic and anthropological findings are indicative of the origin of the Khasis and explain their cognate and cultural relations and homogeneity with the Mons, the Khmers, the Khas or Khmus, the Chams, the Jehs, the Jarais, the Pacohs, the Brous, the Chrous, the Bahnare, the Stiengs, etc. The Khasis, with their sub-groups—Khyrniam, Synteng or Pnar or Jaintia, Bhoi, War, etc.—were once allied to them. Khasi-Synteng is an independent language of the Mon-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic family (Austrie) in the north-east and bears relations with the Munda group of Austro-Asiatic speech in Bihar.

The tradition, if consistently co-related, may throw light on some trends of ancient history. A tradition recounts the existence of a Khasi Kingdom on the banks of the Kalanga (Kolong)

and Kupli and in the neighbouring areas at Nowgong and North Cachar Hills in Assam. The megalithic remains at Neli (Nowgong district,) which are extant till this day, are an evidence. It was a well-known centre of the kingdom which comprised Neli, Gobha, Sahara, Khela and Dimurua and formed part of Jaintia since time immemorial. According to a record, the confluence of Dihing and Kubble which formed an island was inhabited by Mikirs, located in the modern Nowgong district. The legend so recounts that from their confines in Nowgong on the banks of the Kolong and the Kupli, the Khasis drove an invader from Hindusthan by a stratagem. Professor S. K. Bhuyan identifies this kingdom with Stri Rajya, literally the Kingdom of women.¹ The event went back to about the sixth century A.D. when the bulk of the people were confined to the plains. Further, we find evidence of a diplomatic delegation headed by U Ai to Peikin in China. To quote Allan Wilson from the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VII (Dec. 38 and Jan. '39), "there is some reason for believing that they sent an embassy to China sometime in the sixteenth century, for it is on record that an embassy came to Peking from Assam, headed by U Ai, which is essentially a Khasi name, and some 12 years ago a small metal slab was obtained in Nowgong bearing a Chinese credential of some sort. It was made of copper, thickly plated with gold, in the shape of a knife-board about five inches long. It evidently formed one of a pair, because an inscription has been engraved round the edges of the two placed together, and this cannot be read in the absence of the second slab as every letter is cut in half."

Another centre was Hadem, ruled by the Hadem or the Mahadem Syiems well-known in the traditions which Hindus probably called Hidimba in more or less the same area. Hadem is a Khasi-Synteng word used for Kukis in North Cachar, which nomenclature probably is absent in the other neighbouring races. Later on, U Sajar Nangli, a Laskar from Jaintiapur, established himself over Hidimba with headquarters at Mouldam-Khorungma, where ruins of his ancient castle were to be seen until quite recently. Several traditions recount Kamakhya near Gauhati to be their ancient abode. The earliest kings called

themselves *Moin* which means a diamond. These are briefly the glimpses of the early history of the region.

The coming up of the Khasis to their present abode can be connected with several economic factors. The availability of rock-traps for the purpose of megalithic erections as well as of granite (containing ores) for the purpose of iron-smelting, appears to be the main reason. So also they need lime for the purpose of consumption, building and trade. We learn from the earliest records that Khasi lime found demand and was well circulated in the markets in Bengal since their early contact with the British Government in 1765 on the Sylhet side. The ancient Khasis found the soil suitable for horticultural practices in fruit and plantain cultivation, which mainly formed the bulk of their cash crops. The land was good for plantation of tez-pat, areca-nuts and betel-vines.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD

There is more information with regard to this period owing to the availability of evidence. The external evidence comes mainly from the Assamese chronicles known as the *Buranjis*. They are not comprehensive but contain glimpses only on the external, commercial and emissary relations and boundary adjustments. They have to be carefully evaluated for historical reconstruction. Some of the *buranjis* agree on some trends with the earliest records of the British administrators. Though they are known as the Ahom *buranjis*, the bulk have been reduced to Assamese in the sixteenth century or so, after the Ahom script gave way to the Assamese. These *buranjis* of the medieval period should be distinguished from those of the early Ahoms. The early Ahom *buranjis* are like elaborate chronicles and form an authentic history. The later *buranjis* focus more light on external relations. At places, we find misinterpretation of facts with which the early British records disagree. The *buranjis* cannot be relied upon as the only or very important source. They do not present the internal history and thus neglect the true core of history. Moreover, in the guise of

commercial relations, they assert a sort of a protectorate umbrella which extended into the Jaintia Hills and which was totally incorrect.

The information with regard to the growth of the Sutnga Syiemship (kingdom) of Jaintia is inconsistent with a genuine Sutnga or (Jaintia) tradition. According to this tradition, a mermaid, Ka Lidohkha, caught from a Wei Khyrwi Syiem near Sutnga by U Loh Ryndi, took a human form and was crowned the first queen. She was the ancestress of the Sutnga Syiems who consolidated their power in the hills and later were established at Jaintiapur and the Jaintia Parganas in modern Bangladesh as well as at Chapermukh, Neli, Sahara and Gobha, situated in modern Assam. The *buranjis* cleverly reassert this myth by giving a non-Jaintia colouring and by identifying Kā Lih Dohkha with Mutchudhuree, a scion of a Hindu family at Jaintiapur. They seek to present a mixed origin which the local tradition supported by a local relic (the pool in a stream, the Wei Khyrwi near Sutnga) controverts.

There is no denying the fact that Hinduised kings ruled the kingdom from Jaintiapur or Nartiang in the heart of the hills. The worship of Kali and the immolation of human beings to propitiate that goddess, the existence of her temple and shrine at the headquarters, all point to this conclusion. But side by side the original Pnar system of polity, judicial administration, social usage, matrilineal laws of succession, megalithic erections, administration of rituals and religious festivals, investitures of the Syiem and the Dolois survived, which were not influenced by the Hindu or Muslim religion. Apart from the Hill people, the kingdom had a mixed population of Mikirs, Lalungs, Hindus and Muslims. The finds of the Muslim coins, and cannons, with inscriptions inscribed in Arabic or Persian, suggest the links that survived with the Muslim invaders as captured by the Jaintias. On one occasion, the kingdom went short of legitimate heirs and the Jaintias were compelled to install a Muslim to the Syiemship.

The *buranjis* give a wrong impression with regard to succession to kingly or the Syiem's office. Actually in keeping with the matrilineal laws of succession, a nephew succeeded his

maternal uncle instead of a son succeeding his father as in the case of the Jaintias. A local genealogy, recently re-constructed as approved by the Jaintia Durbar, serves best as a model. There are other cases of contradictions in the *buranjis*. The *History of Assam* by E. A. Gait, which bases the relevant chronology on the *buranjis*, gives a rather wrong interpretation. The *buranjis* do not further emphasise the position of an acting royal female custodian or Syiem-priestess (Syiem-sad) through whom progeny was maintained.

One fallacy is in regard to the boundary adjustment. The Ahoms' assertion of a protectorate over Jaintia has been noted again and again. Our information, on the other hand, is otherwise. Jaintia had ever been a sovereign kingdom. The Ahoms put forward their weak claim on the basis of the defeat of Jaintia in one skirmish recorded in 1707 and the taking prisoner of the Syiem, U Ram Singh. In consequence of this war, the Jaintias rendered tribute to the Ahoms during the reign of U Narain Syiem, Ram Singh's successor, but never after him. If a tribute was withheld as such and if the Ahoms later on returned the territories in dispute before their decline, could Jaintia be really assigned a Protectorate status? Protectorate means a guardianship or authority over a vassal state. In the *buranji* as handed down, we find mention of Ahom complaints of the withdrawal of the tribute due from Jaintia. The Ahoms skilfully linked the case of Dimurua with the whole kingdom of Jaintia as a protectorate. The Ahoms did not have the capacity to be protectors as Jaintia also followed her own independent policy in the conflicts with the Muslim invaders, Khyrim and Cherra. Actually, the twenty-four Jaintia parganas in Sylhet remained intact, in which Jaintia exercised her sovereignty and which had never been mentioned so much in the *buranjis*.

The Ahoms, in the cover of commercial relations, skilfully designed a sort of protectorate. It is not known whether Jaintia as well as other tribes were ever parties to it and agreed to such a relationship before it was put on record. The Ahoms also insisted on emissary formalities to assert a sort of protectorate.

The *buranjis* further give a partial view of Jaintia-Cachar conflicts. They do not emphasise Cachar's defeats. The fact

of the transfer of the Cachar capital from Maibong to Khaspur has not been mentioned in the records. They also attribute the defeats of Jaintia and Khyrim as well as Assam to the Koch invasions. It is better that the Koch chronicles be also checked up to authenticate the events as, on my enquiry, I learn that there is no contemporary record to corroborate it in the present Khyrim state.

On the question of the boundary of Jaintia, Pemberton in 1835, notes as follows: "The plains tract contained an area of about 3,850 sq. miles with the three principal divisions—the first having a fertile and well cultivated tract of level country, stretching from the foot of the hills to the north bank of the Surma river; the small portion situated on the south bank, called seven reaches (about 4,500 koolbas of land); the northern portion occupying the foot-hills stretching up to the south bank of Kalong (Kullung), a tract of tolerably open country besides the central division of the Hill tract."²

As discussed elsewhere, the Khasis in the Pre-British period preserved important records of their history in manuscripts written in Bengali, Assamese and even Persian and Arabic. But these documents are antiquated and very hard to decipher. Records in such scripts are available in the office of the Deputy Commissioner and the Assam Civil Secretariat Record Room. The records show that the Khasis were conversant with the languages of the Hindus and Muslims in the plains and could read and write them. The documents in Bengali and Assamese were used for three purposes. In the first place, they served the purpose of emissary contacts with the contemporary Muslim and Hindu kings. In the second place, they were used for maintaining contacts with their own people, while the use of Persian or Arabic was helpful in keeping up relations with the Muhammadans. In the third place, they served as reliable land records.

In 1817, we learn from a record that an ambassador, U Phan Bosen, deputed by the Syiem of Nongstoin, brought down and delivered a letter to Geo Inglis, a lime merchant in Sylhet district. It must have been written in Bengali. The Syiems

employed tutors to read and write in Bengali and Assamese. In 1834, Rijon Singh, a lad of 14 years, installed in Nongkhlaw to succeed U Tirot Singh, according to the Government record, knew how to read and write in Bengali. He was taught Bengali by the Bengali mukhters. The records at Serampore show that the New Testament (reduced to writing in Bengali) was translated by a Khasi. It came out in 1827 but the work started in 1813, because William Carey wrote : "This week we have obtained a person to assist in the translation of the scriptures into the Khasi language and I believe the only one in the whole nation who can read and write" (Dated December 11, 1813).

Inscriptions are also helpful in determining the dates of the coronation of Jaintia kings. They bear the dates of the Saka era. For instance, there is a copper plate inscription commemorating a land grant by Bor Gossain dated 1672 Saka Era with the design of a lion and 23 lines of message inscribed in Bengali.

Besides, there were coins called *Katra Taka* issued by the Jaintia kings as exhibited in the catalogue of the *Provincial Coin Cabinet (Section to Journal, Asiatic Society, No. 3, 1895)*. The only new coins discovered after Independence were 15 silver plated coins inscribed in Arabic and Persian. They were found in a pool at Jowai in 1963 by Professor G. G. Swell. The coins bear the same inscription : on the obverse 'Hamiudine Muhammad Shah Fazl Alam', and on the reverse 'Nineteen Jalus Murshidabad'. As there is no evidence of Muslim invasion of these hills, these coins were possibly collected by the people in the course of commercial transactions with the Muslims. I remember that a discourse took place on the historical importance of these coins at a public meeting in the Seng Jingtup, Mawkhar, Shillong, where it was stated that these coins were paid to the Khasi kings in the past as tribute. I have seen in the National Archives, New Delhi, letters written by Rajendra, the last Syiem of Jaintia, as well as by U Suba Singh, the Syiem of Sohra (Cherra) in Bengali with an English translation which have historical importance, just before the British advent. They could be explained by the fact that the Khasi-Jaintia kings used Muslim cannons. For instance, one of the cannons used by a

Jaintia king against Khyrim contained the name of the emperor *Sher Shah*, which was captured by Khyrim from the invaders.³

The early British explorer noticed a worn-out Persian inscription in large letters on the bank of the Rilang river on the border of Sylhet, which was perhaps the record of some Mussalman adventurer "seeking an El Dorado in this wilderness". The book, *Lives of Lindsays*, contains other interesting information on the conditions of the southern states.

Tradition has more historical significance for this period. The internal history has mainly to be reconstructed on the basis of tradition. Several stories have historical reminiscences. They recount the great kings and princes, builders and sculptors, statesmen and nation-builders, commanders and warriors, birth and growth of clans, antiquity of kingdoms, peace and war, conquest and diplomacy, economic conditions, etc., presented in the form of folklore from which a skilled historian with strong insight could collate details for historical interpretation and accuracy. They centre not only around political organisation and warfare, but a lot can also be found regarding art, sculpture, the indigenous system of education and other phases of culture. Similarly there are tales of women who ranked as founders and builders of States, originators of the arts of dance, music, crafts, weaving and iron-smelting. Great historical events were connected with these personages. The instances are too many to cite. It is not irrelevant to cite the marvellous deeds of a great hero, such as U Sajar Nangli. A sculptor of great repute, he left several works of sculpture in the Jaintia Hills, a great monolith at Raliang, a stone bridge at Nartiang, the carving of a rhinoceros at Nongkhlieh, a carving of elephants in pair at Rtiang, besides which he was an originator of Jaintia sword and Laho dance and music. He is said to have given his people some important religious rituals. The Thadlaskein lake is a historical relic. Later on, differing with the Jaintia Syiem, U Mar Kusain, U Sajar accompanied by a multitude of his men fled eastward, crossed the Kupli river, and carved a dominion known as Hadem, east of Kupli, in North Cachar Hills. At Mouldam he used stone weapons and utensils, pestles and mortars and other tools, and kept a garden secured by fences of iron rod. There is a

story which says that he fled eastward to Dimapur, capital of Kachari kingdom, to be sheltered by its king. The Jaintia king followed his trace to Dimapur to recover the expatriate but Sajar Nangli in the nick of time escaped to Burma *via* the Naga Hills. It is interesting to note that many states in the west were founded by persons with the name of Shahjer or Sajar.

The study of antiquities, stone remains in particular, the birth and growth of clans and other allied subjects will be really worthwhile subjects for the attention of historical scholars.

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- ¹ *U Lurshai*, July, 1926, pp. 2-3.
- ² Pemberton, *Eastern Frontier*, pp. 222-223. According to Pemberton, the Sylhet Plains tract in Jaintia comprised an area of about 650 sq. miles and a population of 1,50,000 souls of whom 'the greater number are Mussulmans...Hindus of Bengalee origin', *ibid.*, p. 223.
- ³ *U Lurshai*, July 1926, pp. 2-3.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE KHASHIS AND JAINTIAS

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MEGHALAYA, one of the twenty-one States of the Indian Union, is situated between 25.5" and 26.10" North Latitude and 89.47" and 92.47" East Longitude, covering 22,500 square kilometres and bounded on the north and east by Assam and on the west and south by Assam and Bangladesh. The State is divided into three districts, viz., Garo Hills, Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills, named after and predominantly inhabited by the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia tribes respectively from a remote date of Indian civilisation. The British annexation of the Garo Hills began in 1816 but was completed only in 1872, while the Khasi Hills were annexed in 1831 and Jaintia in 1835. Historically, the Kingdom of Jayantia included both the Jaintia Hills and a vast chunk of the Surma Valley, besides some small states in Nowgong. In the Khasi Hills there were twenty-five states. The Garos were governed by some clan institutions headed by the *Lakmas*; while those in the border areas were under the theoretical control of the *Zamindars* (also known as *Rajas*) of Rangpur (Goalpara) and Mymensingh whose estates, viz., Karaibari, Mechpara, Hubraghat, Kalumalupara, Sherpur and Susung, surrounded their hills from three sides. Eventually constituted into the Garo Hills and United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Districts by the British Government, the tract was transferred to the Chief Commissionership of Assam in 1874. On 2 April 1970 Meghalaya was created as an autonomous State within Assam, and on 22 January 1972 it achieved full Statehood. On 21 February 1972 the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District was divided into Khasi Hills District and Jaintia Hills District. Incidentally, the name

Meghalaya has been taken from a geographical treatise of Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, referred to in the *Imperial Gazetteers of India*, in relation to the Hill range, otherwise known as Assam range, that divides the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Surma.

The sources for the ancient and medieval history of Meghalaya are very meagre. The history of education in Khasi and Jaintia Hills, with which we are mainly concerned here, began only in the thirties of the last century, and, therefore, literary works, considered to be a very important source of ancient and medieval history, are bound to be absent. *The History and Culture of the Khasi People* by Dr. Hamlet Bareh is the only work on the Khasi-Jaintias covering the Pre-British period, and there too the author had to a large extent to rely upon the legendary sources.

Despite all handicaps, the pious task before the Indian historian today is to ensure the writing of real history of all the regions of the country, and for this to explore the possible sources. The sources for the Pre-British History of the Khasi-Jaintias may be grouped as follows : (A) Folk Tales and Legends ; (B) Historical Records—(a) Local Records, (b) Contemporary Records, and (c) British Records ; (C) Archaeological Sources—(a) Coins, (b) Inscriptions, (c) Neoliths, Monoliths and Megaliths, (d) Sculptures, and (e) Monuments and Religious Shrines ; (D) Literature—(a) Local, and (b) Contemporary ; and (E) Foreign Accounts.

(A) *Folk Tales and Legends :*

For the ancient and early medieval history of the Khasis and the Jaintias, historians have almost entirely to rely upon the tales and legends which have been handed down orally through generations. Fortunately, such tales and legends are innumerable suggesting the origin of the people, their earliest home, the cause and story of their migration including the routes followed, the settlement in the present territory, concept of God and religion, origin of the festivals, food and drink, art and craft, herbal drugs and other methods of curing diseases, social and

political institutions, name of the tribe or sub-tribe or clan, etc. So extensive is their range that almost every hill, river or stone in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills has a tale behind it. About 200 of these Folk-tales have so far been published in works like *The Khasis*¹ by P. R. T. Gourdon, *Folk-Tales of the Khasis*² by Mrs. Rafy, *Khasi and Jaintia Tales and Beliefs*³ by I. M. Simon, *Khasi Fables and Folk-Tales*⁴ by Hamlet Bareh, *Folk-Tales of Assam*⁵ by Mira Pakrasi, *Tribal Folk Tales of Assam*⁶ by S. N. Barkataki, besides some others in local papers, magazines and booklets in English, Khasi, Bengali and Assamese. Some fables and folk-tales were also utilised in works like *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*⁷ by E. T. Dalton, *An Account of Assam*⁸ by Francis Buchanan, *The Background of Assamese Culture*⁹ by R. M. Nath and *Shrihatter Itibritta*¹⁰ by Pandit Achyuta Charan Tatvanidhi. But the bulk of these traditions and folk-tales are still uncared for and exist in the lips of the older generation and are fast going to die out.* *Jayantia Buranji*,¹¹ an Assamese Chronicle, gives three different versions of the story regarding the origin of the Rajas of Sutnga. *Shrihatter Itibritta* gives the fourth version of the same story. The legendary sources are thus varied, conflicting and of doubtful authenticity. Anyway, tales and fables are not accepted as the sole source for scientific history. But there is enough scope to check and evaluate them through anthropological, linguistic and contemporary historical sources.

(B) *Historical Records :*

(a) *Local Records :* The official records of the Jayantia as well as various Khasi *Darbars* form a very authentic and useful source for the Pre-British (medieval) period. Jaintiapur, the capital of Jayantia, was situated in the Bengal plains (Sylhet), and the official language was Bengali. The text of the coins and inscriptions was written in Sanskrit in the Bengali character. The latest condition of the records is not known, but even after the partition of the country some useful records were found in good condition in the *Kutcheryghar* of the *Rajbari*.⁺ Sir Edward Gait had consulted and utilised some of these records

in his *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, Shillong, 1897. The Bengali script and language were used by the Khasi *Syiems* as well, but there are also letters in the Assamese and Ahom languages in the correspondence with the Ahom Government of Assam. Even Sanskrit and Persian scripts were used in some cases. The *Syiems* of Cherra, Shella, Langrin, Khyrim, Myllem, Nongstoin, Mawiang and many other states used Bengali. The brass and copper seals (mohur), used by the officials of Khyrim and Myllem states were in Bengali. The Cherra State had two seals, one in Bengali and the other in Persian. The Myriaw seal was in clean Bengali character.¹² The records of the Khasi courts are preserved in the District Records Room, Shillong, and in the Assam Secretariat Records Department.

(b) *Contemporary Records*: The official records of the neighbouring states, like Cachar, Tripura, Ahom and Cooch Behar with which Jayantia and some Khasi states had friendly or hostile relationship and emissary contacts, must be useful. The three eastern states of Jayantia, Cachar and Ahom had frequent conflicts, and sometimes to run down the third any two used to enter into alliances. The records of Cachar (Bengali) and Ahom courts must, therefore, throw interesting light upon this tripartite relationship. The Bengali records of Tripura and Cooch Behar courts are helpful for studying the invasion of Jayantia by those states. Khyrim and some other Khasi states had diplomatic relations with the Ahoms, and the Ahom records should be helpful in this respect. But most of these records were destroyed during the wars and unsettled state of affairs which preceded the British annexation of those states. However, some of these records are preserved in various Archives, while many British officers consulted and utilised them for preparing reports on the history, social and political institutions, and customs and usages of the states.

(c) *British Records*: Although the Khasi-Jaintias passed under the East India Company's rule only in the thirties of the nineteenth century, the Company's paramountcy in Bengal was a *fait accompli* by 1772. These tribes had a long trading history

with the Bengalees at the frontier *hats* in the Sylhet district of Bengal which continued even after the Company had been firmly established in Bengal. Some English merchants also entered into commercial contacts with the Raja of Jayantia and Khasi Chiefs. M/s. Inglis and Company of Sylhet, for example, obtained permit for the lime and coal quarries in Jayantia and had flourishing business. In the last part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century there were repeated Khasi raids in Sylhet, and in 1774 the Company's troops were led by Captain Helliker against Jaintia. The early records of the East India Company, preserved in the Bengal Provincial Archives as well as in the Sylhet District Archives give some interesting and authentic details on the above subjects. The papers relating to the Anglo-Khasi and Anglo-Jayantia Wars are available in the Assam Secretariat Records Department, West Bengal Archives, National Archives of India, as well as in the Sylhet and Cachar District Records Rooms. *The Sylhet District Records* edited by Firmininger, and published by the Government of Assam (Shillong, 1917) in four volumes, contains papers on the Khasis and Jaintias. *The Lives of Lindsays*, being the reminiscences of a Collector of Sylhet (1779-1789), is an important record on the socio-economic condition of the southern Khasi states and the East India Company's contacts with Jayantia in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Pemberton's *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*,¹³ prepared in 1835, contains important information on the political as well as socio-economic conditions of the Khasi-Jaintias on the eve of British annexation. Sub-Section 2 of Section 5 deals with Jynteah (Jaintia) and Sub-Section 3 with Cossyah (Khasi) Hills. Francis Buchanan's *Account of Assam*, prepared during the period from 1807 to 1814, is also important for similar information.

(C) *Archaeology* :

(a) *Coins* : The ruling dynasties in ancient India had a celebrated tradition of issuing coins of their own, and Jayantia, a Kingdom of Mahabharata fame, could not be an exception. Edward Gait's paper on 'Jaintia Coins', published in the *Journal*

of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1895, and Botham's *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet*¹⁴ (Section XXVII) give some details on the Jaintia coins. Volume LXIV, part 1, plate XXIV of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* contains sixteen specimens of Jaintia coins. *Shrihatter Itibritta* gives some more information. Made of copper, silver and zinc, these coins were inscribed in Devanagri and Bengali scripts and had Hindu Symbols. The earliest known coin was issued in 1591 *Sakabda* and the latest in 1712.¹⁵ Some years back, fifteen silver coins, inscribed in Arabic and Persian characters, of Mahammad Shah Fazl Alam of Murshidabad were recovered from a pool of water at Jowai (Jaintia Hills). This discovery, according to Dr. Bareh, "points out that the Khasis, had maintained important commercial or emissary contacts with the Mughal Emperors or their viceroys at Murshidabad".¹⁶ There are traditions that the Khasi *Syiems* also issued coins and gold *mohars*. But, unfortunately, none of them has so far been discovered. According to a publication of the State Archaeology Department of Assam, the Raja of Khyrim, after defeat by the Koches, undertook to issue coins in the name of Naranarayan, Raja of Cooch Behar.¹⁷ The fact of an invasion of Khyrim from Cooch Behar is, however, doubtful.

(b) *Inscriptions*: The Jaintia inscriptions inscribed in Sanskrit are few and so worn out that most of them could not be deciphered. At Jaintiapur, there are two inscriptions. One of them was inscribed in 1602 *Sakabda*, corresponding to the reign of Raja Lakshminarayan. The second is a copper plate inscription indicating a land grant by Raja Bar Gossain in 1692 *Sakabda*.¹⁸ There is another inscription on the bank of the river Jadukata in south-eastern Jaintia. On both banks of the river Lukha there are some inscriptions. These were possibly inscribed by a Raja of Jaintia who encamped there during his war with Cachar. Unfortunately, none of the last mentioned inscriptions could be deciphered.¹⁹

(c) *Neolith, monolith and megalith*: By far the most important sources for the study of pre-history and proto-history of the region are the neolithic, monolithic and megalithic remains scattered all over the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Stone implements like

axes, chisels and hammers discovered in the Khasi Hills,²⁰ suggest that neolithic culture was an outstanding feature of the Khasi culture. There are traditions that the Khasis lived in stone dwellings in ancient times. In Nongbah, Shangpung and some other villages in the Jaintia Hills, there were stone houses. The large forts were used by the Jaintia and Khyrim Rajas as residences with elaborate partition of apartments, while the defence walls of many villages were marked with stones. The stone caves were used as ancient dwellings. The Mawthawpdah cave and Umkai stone stockades still provide interesting specimens.

Traces of stones with human remains inside have been discovered in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, suggesting megalithic culture of the people. Incidentally, the Khasi-Jaintias burnt their dead and then preserved the bones inside a cairn or a cromlech.

"The Khasi monoliths are a prominent feature in the landscape in every portion of the district (United Khasi-Jaintia). They are generally arranged in rows, varying in number from three to nine. The centre stone is invariably the tallest and sometimes crowned with a piece of stone, the size and shape of a plate. A flat table-like stone, supported on small pillars, about one foot high, is placed in front of each group of the three monoliths; there is an additional flat stone. Some of these monoliths are of enormous size. These memorial stones fall into three classes: those which were erected by the family or clan in memory of their ancestors; those erected by children in honour of their parents; or those erected near roads or markets as resting places. They are generally placed near paths where they will be continuously in the public eye and are often far away from the places where the ashes of the person in whose honour they have been erected are buried."²¹

At Nartiang, which was the summer capital of the Jaintia Rajas whose normal capital was at Jaintiapur (Sylhet, Bangladesh), there is a huge concentration of monoliths on a hill-top. In the *Durgabari* at Nartiang human sacrifice was prevalent and some posts might have been erected in the memory of victims. At Mawsmi (Khasi Hills), the tallest menhir in the middle is decked on the top with the form of a *Mawshata* (umbrella), while in the Jaintia Hills some monoliths, decked on top with

a *pagri* (turban), are called *Mawspong* and were erected to commemorate a Khyrim invasion. *Mawshata* was associated with the transfer of the Cherra capital from Nonglba to Mawsmal. Stones, menhirs, tables and basins have been found at Nartiang, Lewduh, Laitlynkot, Raliang and other market areas. These are only a few of the innumerable monoliths that are scattered all over the blue hills of the Khasi-Jaintias, but a majority of them were reportedly destroyed by the great earthquake of 1897.²² Thus stones have an important position in the Khasi-Jaintia culture.

The megalithic bridge in Jaintia Hills is a beautiful specimen of medieval architecture. The Thlu Muwi bridge in Jowai-Jarain Road is made of four megalithic stones laid down over three pillars. Um-Nyokanch bridge in the Jarain-Syndai Road gives a magnificent look. Both these bridges are protected by the Archaeological Survey of India.²³ The Megalithic bridge at Nartiang was constructed by Mar Phalynki, who also raised the tallest menhir in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills at Nartiang market. There is also a megalithic bridge at Jowai, 7 ft. by 3 ft. and 1½ ft. in thickness. In Cherra, there are some megalithic bridges of smaller size. The Nartiang monoliths are said to be similar to those found in Burma and Indonesia, and those in the other parts of Assam are associated with the earlier Khasi settlements.²⁴

(d) *Sculptures*: The sculptural remains are very few, and they are in the Jaintia Hills only. Some figures of warriors, horses and elephants along with other carvings are found at Sonapur on the bank of Lukha river. There is a carving of human skull near Rupasar. The rock-carving of a couple exists at a place near Jowai-Jarain Road. A stone-frame of eight persons can be seen on the outskirts of Nartiang. The stone carving of a Hadem warrior, Khawang Myllep, is found at a place between Looksi and Mawthympat in eastern Jaintia. At Jaintiapur, on the outer surface of the wall fortresses encircling the place, carvings of several figures mixed with other designs are found.

At Sonapur, there are some horse and elephant carvings. At Jowai, there is a rock carving of a pig, about 7 ft. long, 4 ft. wide and 2 ft. thick. At Rupasar, there are two carved frog

figures. In the vicinity of the same place, there is an elephant figure (about 4 ft. in length and 2 ft. in breadth) made in stone. Carvings of frog, hanging bell, human skull and some other decorated works are seen near Syndai. The megalithic bridge at Syndai Lake has some stone decorations. A stone frame of a bull and an elephant in combat at Mawryntung is worth noticing. At Mawbaliar there are some sculptured designs. A carving of a rhinoceros made by Sajar Nanglu, the historic Jaintia hero, exists at Lun Moteshori. At Mawbakhon, the footprint of this hero has been preserved. Stones in the form of vessels are found near Sai Pung. A water pipe made of stone and found in Sutunga, is a fine specimen of Jaintia craftsmanship. There is also the carving of a boat near the Nartiang megalithic bridge. In the Khasi hills, a horse carving is found near Mawrong. All these sculptures belong to the medieval period.²⁵

(e) *Monuments and religious shrines*: There are some historical monuments and religious shrines. At Jaintiapur, the dilapidated capital complex has survived the stress and strain of time and also the recent onslaught of the Pak military junta. Some wings of the palace are stated to have been constructed in late ancient and others in the early medieval period. Some of the buildings are clear specimens of modern architecture and renovation of the old buildings must have been carried out in recent times. At Faljur, near Jaintiapur, lay the famous shrine of *Jaintesvari*. At Rupnath (near Syndai) there is the shrine of *Mahadeva* erected during the reign of Maharaj Bar Gossain. The worn-out palace of Bar Gossain still stands at Barkhat. An apartment of this palace was meant to be the meditation room of the Maharaja and it contains a *Siva-linga*. Some works of art and sculpture have added to the architectural importance of the palace. At Nartiang, there is the famous *Durgabari*. The *mandir* is an old fashioned and typical Jaintia house. The *path* of the *Durga* contains, besides *Dashabhuja*, the images of *Jaya*, *Vijaya*, *Lakshmi*, *Saraswati*, *Kartik* and *Ganesh*, and is made of *asthadhatu*. There is another *path* of the same metal, of *Kiratesvari*, the presiding deity of the Heramba Raj family of Cachar. According to tradition, Raja Ram Singh of Jayantia had

treacherously taken away this *vighraha* from Khaspur. Tradition in Cachar also claims that this image is more than a thousand years old, and that this *Sada-Jagrata* (ever-alert) deity had protected Heramba Desh from repeated Muslim invasions. The temple priests (Bengali Brahmins from Sylhet) of Nartiang claim that they have been attached to the profession for 24 generations. The tradition of human sacrifice in the temple is well-known, and the *nara-kup* (sacrificial well) is still there in front of the *bedi* (altar). The priests claim that the *kup* has an underground channel with a river, so that the human bodies after immolation would find their way to the river and then be carried to the Surma. The gate-way to the temple is in a dilapidated condition, and the very look suggests that it must be some six or seven hundred years old. Near the *Durgabari*, there is a hill, called *Rajar tila*, where in another old-fashioned house there are idols of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *Siva*, *Durga* and *Kali* and some cannons of the Jaintia Rajas in a most 'uncared' for condition. At Jaintiapur, about one mile north of the palace, the images of *Siva* and *Durga* are engraved on a huge stone. At Baurbhag, in another piece of stone an image of *Kali* has been engraved (about 1 ft. in length and 9 inches in breadth). In an well-fortified temple on the bank of Bargang, there are lofty images of *Hara* and *Parvati*. There are two *Siva-lingas* in Jaintia Pargana. In a temple in Daudig village there are idols of *Jagannath*, *Balaram* and *Suvadra*. Raja Ram Singh installed a *Siva-linga* at Rameswar.²⁶ Traditions also connect the origin of the famous Hindu shrine of *Kamakhya* (*Ka Mei Ka*) at Gauhati with the Khasis.²⁷

(D) Literature :

(a) *Local* : The traditions in Sylhet suggest that the Royal Court at Jaintiapur was adorned by a galaxy of scholars drawn from other parts of India. Kaviraja, an eminent Sanskritist in the court of Kamadeva (1090 to 1119), Raja of Jaintia, composed the celebrated Sanskrit work *Raghav Pandariniya* at the inspiration of the Raja. It is stated in the book that Kaviraja, who was known to Munjaraja, ruler of Malava and author of *Saraswati*

Kanthavarana, was invited by Kamadeva from Dharanagari in Malava to Jaintiapur. It is further stated that Kamadeva had invited many Brahmins from Madhyadesh (North Bengal) and settled them in the capital city.²⁸ *Ratnavali* and *Advuta Bharata* are two well-known Bengali poetical works composed in the Jaintia Darbar.²⁹ It has been reported that some Sanskrit and Bengali manuscripts in *Sanchi* and *Bhoja* leaves were preserved in the Jaintia *Kutchery* at Jaintipur. Raja Rajendra Singha of Jaintia was a Bengali poet, and his devotional songs on the *Radha-Krishna* cult were highly popular in Sylhet. Two of these songs are appended in *Shrihatter Itibritta*.³⁰

(b) *Contemporary* : Despite the dearth of local literary works, the contemporary Indian literature including Vedic literature and the epics may be utilised for the benefit of studying the history of the Khasi-Jaintias. Their very situation on the borders of Bengal and the existence of the well-known empires of Pragjyotisha and Kamarupa in ancient North-Eastern India lead one to believe that these people must have found at least some casual references in the contemporary literature. *Satapatha Brahmana*, for example, refers to the progress of the Aryans in eastern India. *Aitareya Brahmana* gives some details of the spread of Aryan culture in the region, and provides an interesting scope for studies in the cultural relations between the Aryans and the Non-Aryans. If the identification of Pragjyotisha and Kamarupa in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* with the empires of the name in North-Eastern India is accepted as final, these epics are bound to contain references to the Khasi-Jaintias. In the *Kishkinda Kanda* of the *Ramayana*, it is stated that the city of Pragjyotisha was built on a gold-crested mountain, called *Varaha*. Rai Bahadur K. L. Baruah³¹ has attempted to identify *Varaha* with the Assam range. Pargiter, in his *Ancient Countries in Eastern India*, has claimed that Pragjyotisha included the great part of the then (1897) Assam together with the Bengal districts of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Rangpur, Bogra, Mymensing, Dacca, Tripura, parts of Pabna and also eastern Nepal (incidentally, the three Bengal districts of Cachar, Sylhet and Goalpara were within Assam in 1897). Thus the surrounding areas of Garo Hills and

Khasi-Jaintia Hills were included in Pragjyotisha. Again, in the *Mahabharata* it has been stated that Bhagadatta, Raja of Pragjyotisha, participated in the battle of *Kurukshetra* with his *Kirata* (Mongoloid) soldiers. Jayantia has been specifically mentioned in the great epic as *Stree-Rajya*. In the *Rajasuya Yajna* organised by Yudhisthira at Indraprastha, invitation was extended to the princes all over India. Indrasen Rai, Raja of Jayantia, disregarded the invitation which resulted in his humiliation at the hands of Bhima. According to the *Kalika Purana*, a tenth-century Sanskrit work, Naraka of Pragjyotisha succeeded a Danava Dynasty, of which the earliest known ruler was Mahiranga Danava. Mahiranga's capital in *Mairang Parvat* has been identified by K. L. Baruah³² with a hill, even now known as Mairang, on the seventh mile of the Gauhati-Shillong Road, and this region was even recently peopled by the Khasis. According to a legend quoted in the preface of the *Gopatha Brahmana*, when *Sati* died of vexation at the discourtesy shown to her husband *Siva* by *Daksa*, *Siva* in grief wandered about the earth carrying her dead body on his neck. *Vishnu* then looped away the body with his *Chakra* and it fell to earth in fifty-one pieces. The lower part of the leg fell at Faljur in Jaintia, while the neck had fallen in Sylhet, and the organ of generation in Kamagiri (near Gauhati).³³

The *Markandeya Purana*, written about fifth century A.D., mentions a kingdom named Vijaya Pura, situated on the top of a hill to the east of Pragjyotishpur and established by one Vijay who was the son of a *Kshatriya* king through a hill damsel. Quoting a tradition which refers to Jaintia as *Prag-Vijay-Rajya*, R. M. Nath has tried to identify Vijaypur with Jaintia.³⁴ *Jogini Tantra*, a medieval Sanskrit work, refers to Jayantia. *Tantrachudamani*, probably of the same period, refers to *Jayanteswari* at Faljur and *Kramadhisvara Siva* at Rupnath.³⁵

In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, it has been stated that Jayapida, Raja of Kashmir, in course of *Digvijaya* encountered a vast women's kingdom in the east in the beginning of the 13th century. This kingdom has been identified with Jaintia because of its matrilineal system.³⁶

The Ahom and Assamese chronicles are important for Ahom

relations with the Jaintia, Khyrim and other Khasi States. Besides political history, the *Buranjis* contain interesting information about the socio-economic condition of the people. *Jayantia Buranji*,³⁷ an Assamese Chronicle, for example, not only deals with Ahom-Jaintia, Ahom-Kachari and Jaintia-Kachari relations but also throws light on the early history of Jaintia. *Kachari Buranji*³⁸ gives graphic description about Jayantia-Cachar relations. *Rajamala*, the Tripura Chronicle written in Sanskrit and Bengali in the 13th century, is important for Jaintia's relations with Tripura. The Koch annals and *Darrang Raj Vamsavali* are important for the study of Koch invasion of Jaintia under Chilla Rai in 1664 A.D. For studies in the Mughal invasion of Cachar and probable involvement of Jaintia therein, the Persian work *Baharistan-i-ghaibi*³⁹ by Mirza Nathan is important. *Ain-i-Akbari*, another Persian work by Abul Fazl, shows that according to the revenue arrangement carried out in Bengal by Raja Todarmal during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar, one of the eight *mahals* of the Sylhet *Sirkar* of Bangala *Subah* was known as Jaintia *mahal*, yielding a revenue of Rs. 680 annually. The river Surma formed the boundary between Bengal and the Jaintia Kingdom. It is probable, therefore, that prior to the Mughal conquest of Bengal, Jaintia extended beyond Surma but since then the river came to be regarded as Bangala-Jaintia boundary, the tract beyond being included in the Mughal *Subah*.⁴⁰

In *Kamakhya Tantra*, a medieval Sanskrit work, Jaintia, Cachar, Tripura and Kuki hills have been specifically mentioned as the boundary of Sylhet (Shrihatta Desh). *Advaita Prakash* and *Tuyarike Jalali*, two Bengali poetical works, make some references to Jaintia. Sylhet, the birth place of many eminent Sanskrit and Bengali scholars, has the unique tradition of recording historical incidents through *Panchali*, *Kula Panjika* and *Vamsa Patrika*, mostly in the medieval period. *Bambamber Panchali* and *Hashtanther Panchali*, for example, contain valuable information about Sylhet and its adjacent region.⁴¹

Jaynarayaner Harilila, a Bengali book written in the late medieval period, shows that a *Vaisya Banik* of Bengal used to visit important trading centres in India in connection with

business, and in the list of these trading centres Jaintia has been mentioned along with Hastinapur, Karnat, Kalinga, Nepal, Dravid, Kashmir, Maharashtra, Gujarat, China, etc.⁴²

(E) *Foreign Accounts :*

The accounts of some foreign travellers, beginning with 500 B.C. make references to eastern India in general, and these may be utilised for Khasi-Jaintia history as well. For example, the accounts of the Greek and Roman visitors like Hecateens, Herodotus, Megasthenes and Strabo have left behind interesting details. Ptolemy has mentioned a country, called Kirrhadia, where *Tezpat* was grown in abundance. On the basis that the tract under reference is roughly in the neighbourhood of the Surma Valley region of Bengal and that the Khasi Hills are even now notable for the production of *Tezpat*, K. L. Baruah⁴³ has attempted to identify the tract with the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills. Col. G. E. Gerini, in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, has identified Alosanga with Shillong.⁴⁴ The account of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim who visited Kamarupa about 643 A.D., has been interpreted by K. L. Baruah to show that Kamarupa at the time included the Garo-Khasi Hills and northern part of Sylhet.⁴⁵ An earlier Chinese traveller, Chang Kian, in the second century B.C., mentioned some trade routes between North-Eastern India and China through Burma.⁴⁶ The account of Shang Shun, belonging to the fifth century A.D., shows that an embassy was sent by Yu Chai in 428 A.D. to Kapili Valley from China.⁴⁷ As the river Kapili flows through Jaintia Hills, it is not unlikely that proper investigation into the accounts may reveal some references to the tribesmen in the area.

The accounts of Muslim travellers are more useful. Alberuni's account mentions Khasa along with Samatata and Pragjyotisha among the countries in the east. According to some historians, Khasa stood for Khasi.⁴⁸ Quazim, another Muslim traveller, referred to the cultivation of fruits like lemon, orange, and also the smelting of iron and gold in Assam, which have a long tradition in the Khasi Hills.⁴⁹

Conclusion :

In conclusion mention may be made of some historical works in Bengali published about the beginning of the present century on the neighbouring areas, and based on original sources. Some of them even contain important historical documents in their appendix, and make useful references to the Khasis and the Jaintias. Of such works, the following deserve special mention : *Shrihatteer Itibritta* by Achyuta Charan Choudhury Tatvanidhi, *Shrihatta Darpan* by Moulavi Mahammad Ahmed, *Shrihatteer Prachin Itihash* by K. K. Gupta Choudhury, *Kacharer Itibritta* by Upendra Chandra Guha, *Heramba Rajyer Danda Vidhi* by Padmanath Vidyavinode, *Kamarupa Sasanavali* by Padmanath Vidyavinode, *Tripurar Itihash* by Kailash Chandra Singha, *Maymansingher Itihash* by Kedarnath Mazumdar, *Kuch Bihar Itihash* by Khan Saheb Amanat Ulla, *Banger Jatiya Itihash* by Nagendranath Basu, and *Jayantiar Itihash* by Mahammad Abdul Aziz. The last mentioned work is a *History of Jayantia* by one who was said to be associated with the Jaintia Darbar. Any researcher in the pre-British History of the Khasis and Jaintias is sure to get ready materials from it.

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 - ⁷ Calcutta, 1872.
 - ⁸ London, 1820.
 - ⁹ Shillong, 1949.
 - ¹⁰ Calcutta, 1317 *Bangla*.
- * Recently I collected a tradition about the origion of the Jaintia people. This suggests that originally there were 16 families in Heaven. Of them, 7 families came down to the earth, i.e., Jaintia-

land by a tree that connected the Heaven and the earth. The earth was then unfertile, rocky and thus unfit for human habitation or agriculture. The people then started praying to God (*U Blai*). The rocky hills then became fertile by His Grace and plants began to grow. The people then cut down the tree, started worshipping river, stone and timber, and undertook *Jhum* system of agriculture as the prime means of subsistence.

¹¹ Edited by S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati, 1937.

⁺ This information was collected by the contributor from Janmejy Barman of Shilling, a retired Deputy Commissioner, whose wife is from the royal family of Jayantia.

¹² Bareh, Hamlet, *History and Culture of the Khasi People*, pp. 393-94.

¹³ Calcutta, 1835.

¹⁴ Calcutta, 1930.

¹⁵ *Shrihatteer Itibritta*, part IV, p. 13.

¹⁶ Bareh, H., *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Ancient Treasures of Assam*, a booklet issued by Assam State Museum, Gauhati, p. 22.

¹⁸ Gait, E., *A History of Assam*, p. 316.

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²¹ *Census of India, 1961, United Khasi-Jaintia District Census Handbook*, p. 17.

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²³ *Archaeology in Assam*, a booklet issued by the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Assam, p. 60.

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- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, part II, p. 5.
- ⁴² Majumdar, R. C., *Bangala Desher Itihash* (Madhya Yug), pp. 224-25.
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- ⁴⁷ Choudhury, P. C., *The History of the Civilisation of the People of Assam*, p. 16.
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HISTORY OF THE GAROS (PRE-BRITISH PERIOD)

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HISTORICALLY as well as geographically the present district of Garo Hills can be considered as comprising two natural divisions : (i) the plains portions in the northern, western and southern borders, which are in fact extensions of the Brahmaputra valley. These areas now constitute Mouzas V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and a portion of X ; (ii) the hilly areas of the interior which form the western portion of the Meghalaya plateau. These areas now constitute Mouzas I, II, III and IV. The plains portions of the Garo Hills district were originally regarded as tributaries of the Zamindars of Mechpara, Bijni, Kalumalupara, Habraghat, Koraibari, Sherpur and Susang. The British took over the administration of these areas by permanent settlement with the Zamindars in 1793 and by Regulation X of 1822. The interior hills remained outside the influence of the plains areas and in all probability were politically independent since the earliest times till the British finally occupied them in 1869. Hence the plains portions came under the British about half a century earlier than the interior hills.

Taking into consideration the natural divisions as described above, we may consider the sources of the history of the Garos in the following categories :

1. Legendary Sources
2. Prehistoric or Proto-historic Sources
3. Mythological Sources
4. Koch Sources
5. Ahom Sources

6. Moghul Sources

7. Early British Sources

1. *Legendary Sources :*

Though legends cannot be treated as an accurate source of history, in the absence of adequate accurate materials we have to try to find out whatever truth they contain. Making allowances for interpolations, we find that the Garos have a tradition of migration to their present abode and that they borrowed iron implements from the neighbouring tribe of Dikkils (Khasis). The latter information may give us a clue to conclude that the prehistoric tool-makers of Garo Hills were the same people as the bearers of the present Garo culture.

2. *Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sources :*

There is no written account of the interior hills before some of the British administrators recorded their first-hand experiences in the second half of the nineteenth century. Technically speaking, till the second half of the nineteenth century these areas were in a state of prehistory. Hence our only guide for understanding the state of affairs in these areas before British occupation is prehistoric remains. Unfortunately, the climate of the Garo Hills is not favourable for the preservation of bone, wood, etc. ; so only a rough idea of the prehistoric age can be made from the typological study of stone tools. Numerous Neolithic stone tools have been found in different areas of the district. Recently an excavation in the Arbella range in the western-central Garo Hills led by Professor M. C. Goswami and Dr. T. C. Sharma of the University of Gauhati discovered some stone implements which typologically signifies a Mesolithic period. Further, the researches of Dr. H. C. Sharma in the same area have led him to conclude the existence of a Palaeolithic stage. It can be stated here that these researches are confined to a small area of the Garo Hills and they do not give any indication about the condition of life in those remote days. Moreover, it has not yet been possible to date the prehistoric cultures of the Garo Hills. Due to the absence of associated

finds it cannot be conclusively stated that the bearers of the prehistoric cultures were the same people as the present day Garos.

3. *Mythological Sources :*

In the Hindu mythological literature the Garo Hills were not known as a separate entity. In the *Mahabharata* the boundaries of the kingdom of Kamarupa have been stated as, on the south the Bay of Bengal, and the Karatoya river on the west. In the *Kalika Purana* Kamakhya temple has been stated as the centre of Kamarupa. In the *Vishnu Purana* the kingdom of Kamarupa has been described as extending in all directions from the Kamakhya temple for 100 *yojanas* (450 miles). In *Yogini Tantra* Kamarupa has been described as having its boundaries extending from the Karatoya river on the west to the Dikhu river on the east, and from the mountains of Kanajagiri on the north to the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lakhaya on the south. All these descriptions of the ancient kingdom of Kamarupa signify that the present district of Garo Hills was a part of the kingdom of Kamarupa. But in all these mythological sources there is no specific mention of either the Garos or of their habitat. Probably, in those days the Garo Hills were somewhat like unadministered territory inhabited by groups of wild people, though they were of the same racial stock with the rulers, who were designated as Kiratas. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's account also corroborates this. He visited North-East India in the early part of the seventh century A.D. He describes the inhabitants of Kamatapür as having Mongoloid features.

4. *Koch Sources :*

In all probability the plains areas of the Garo Hills formed parts of Koch principalities. There are written records depicting the history of Koch kings. In these chronicles we find accounts of the principalities which in later periods laid claims over portions in the outer fringe of the Garo Hills. These

accounts go back to the early part of the sixteenth century A.D. During the regime of Nara Narayan (c 1540-84 A.D.) Sankardev preached neo-Vaishnavism in the Koch kingdom. *Katha Guru Charit* describes the religious movement of Sankardev, though it was written about one and a half century after the death of that great religious reformer. From this historical work we get an indication that during those days some Garos were already in the plains areas practising permanent paddy cultivation, and one of them, Gobinda Ata, was converted to Hinduism and became a preacher of neo-Vaishnavism. However, from the sources available for the Koch regime, we do not get any account of the political, economic and social conditions of the Garos during the sixteenth century.

5. *Ahom Sources :*

Ahom rule in the eastern part of the Brahmaputra valley is contemporary with the Koch rule in the western part of the Brahmaputra valley. This is the reason why we do not find any specific mention of the Garo habitat in Ahom *buranjis*. However, in Ahom chronicles we find occasional accounts of friendship and conflict between the Koch and Ahom kings, which do not in any way help us in tracing the history of the Garos. In *Deodhai Asom Buranji* the Jaintias have been referred to as Garos. It needs investigation. We can explain this in two ways : first, probably Ahom *buranji*-writers referred to all matrilineal hill people as Garos ; second, probably in those times Garo habitat comprised the whole area extending from present Garo Hills district to the present Jaintia district of Meghalaya. Even at the present time Garos are found in a continuous belt extending from the Garo Hills to the eastern portion of Kamrup district. Probably such a situation led Martin to state as follows :

“The Raja (of Barduar) is a Garo, and lives at Bhagpoor, two days’ journey south-west from Gauhati. It is close to the mountains inhabited by independent Garos ; but these consider the Barduar Raja as their chief. It is for his low lands only that he pays tribute to Assam.”

6. *Moghul Sources :*

Moghul sources are very fruitful in writing the history of the Koch kingdom. In c 1583 A.D. Isa Khan conquered the principality of the Koch king Raghu Deb. This was probably the earliest contact of the Mohammedans with the inhabitants of the Koch kingdom and this has been recorded in *Ain-i-Akbari*. In *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri* also there is occasional reference to Koch kings. These manuscripts along with other contemporary manuscripts do not give any specific account of any part of the Garo Hills or its inhabitants. The chroniclers of Mir Jumla also do not give any account of the Garo Hills. The only reliable and fruitful source of information about the foothills occupied by the Garos is *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, which speaks of a time between 1608 A.D. and 1624 A.D. *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* speaks about Moghul expeditions to Koraibari and Rongdan. It is remarkable to note that in northern Garo Hills there is a section of the Rabhas known as Rongdani. It is also stated that for attacking Rongjuli (on the southern border of Goalpara) Mirza Nathan recruited 4000 Garos in his army, and he describes these Garos as savages. Moreover, it is said that Nathan's army attacked a village in the hills near Rongjuli (at present all the hills near-about Rongjuli are within the district of Garo Hills) and among the 500 captives brought from that village there was a Muslim chief named Jamal Khan who helped in bringing the Garos into subjugation.

7. *British Sources :*

Probably the first Englishman to give a first hand account of Assam was Dr. John Peter Wade, who visited Assam during Gourinath Singh's reign in 1792. His account mostly relates to the Brahmaputra valley and his account about the history of Assam was probably taken from Ahom chronicles. That is why we do not find any specific account of the Garo Hills in Wade's account. Capt. C. S. Reynolds was, however, the first Briton to give an account of the Garos. Around 1844 he visited some of the areas of the Garo Hills adjoining the plains. However, the

first and the most reliable account about the conditions in the interior hills came from E. T. Dalton who visited these areas in 1846.

The British authorities started taking interest in Garo affairs since 1788. Around the same time the India House instructed the British authorities in India to take an interest in the study of the customs of the primitive tribes. This resulted in some earliest accounts of primitive tribes in North-East India. These accounts concern only the customs, and so they are not much helpful in understanding the political and economic situation prevailing in those days. However, administrative reports and official correspondence help us to assess the political and economic situation.

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HISTORY OF THE GAROS (PRE-BRITISH PERIOD)

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ALL HISTORY dealing with ancient period is limited by the dearth of source-material. But the paucity of source-material of Garo history, especially the period prior to the advent of the British, is so acute that it poses a Himalayan obstacle to the historical investigators. Besides, no serious attempts have been made so far to discover the sources for writing the early history of the Garos. Even the few sources which are available have not been carefully examined. Hence, Garo Hills still remain a virgin soil for the historical investigators.

Major Playfair, in his monograph on the Garos, has given us a comprehensive account of the history and culture of the Garos, which for its unbiased and systematic presentation of facts stands still unrivalled. But like all other pioneers of historical investigations, he could not examine all the available sources ; and as such he mainly dwelt on the life of some sections of the Garos only, leaving out the life of other sections of the Garos and completely ignoring political history, the details of which are to be filled in with the help of materials derived from a more minute and exhaustive study of the contemporary source-material available up-to-date.

As stated above, the Garos are not completely devoid of source-material for the construction of their history and the following pages will show us the existence of a few source-materials which, if carefully and scientifically examined, may throw a flood of light on the early history of the Garos so long wrapped in mystery.

The source-materials which are available for the construction

of the pre-British period of Garo History can be classified under the following heads, viz., Literary, and Archaeological evidences.

1. *Literary sources* : Literary sources can be further divided into (i) Oral Traditions ; (ii) Incidental references in the ancient Indian Literature ; (iii) Philology ; (iv) Foreign Accounts ; and (v) British Government Official Records.

(i) *Oral Traditions* : One of the most important sources for the construction of the history of the Garos is the Oral traditions. The Garo Oral traditions are told both in verse and in prose. They contain the narrations of their past history—their origin, wanderings at the foot of the Himalayas, and in Cooch Behar, Rangamati, and the Brahmaputra Valley, and their engagements with local kings, until their final occupation of the Garo Hills.

However, these oral traditions being handed down from mouth to mouth for generations naturally vary in details from place to place and from time to time ; but happily for us, they agree in the main events. The divergent versions of the oral traditions may appear to us unreliable to use as one of the sources of history. But such rich heritage as the oral traditions of the Garos cannot but contain certain grains of truth. As such, in the absence of other reliable historical materials the oral traditions can be taken as a dependable source for the construction of the early history of the Garos.

(ii) *Incidental references in ancient Indian Literature* : Vedic literature and other ancient Indian literature contain some incidental references to the Kiratas, the Mandehas and the Garudas. Thus they also may be useful as sources of Garo History.

The earliest references to the Kiratas are found in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda. The former speaks of them as "living in caves", and in the latter we find the following statement, "The young maid of Kirata race, a little damsel, digs the drug ; digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high ridges of the hills". From the Yajurveda onwards, in many of the ancient Indian Literature, the mountain regions of north-eastern

India were well-attested as the abode of the Kiratas.

In the Ramayanic age, the Garos were known as Garudas. The white palace of Garuda, situated on a mountain on the shores of the Lohit-Sagara, refers very probably to the residence of these Garudas on Garo Hills (*Ramayana*, Kishkindhya, Chapter 40, Sloka 41). In the *Ramayana*, the Garos were also referred to as the 'Mandehas', probably after the name 'Mande' by which the Garos used to call themselves.

In the *Mahabharata*, Garuda is described as a sworn enemy of the snakes and is given the epithet 'Kiratasin' or devourer of Kiratas. The *Yogini Tantra* calls the Garo Hills Manda-Saila, probably after the same name 'Mandeha' as mentioned in the *Ramayana*.

In the *Brahmanda Purana*, the Bhauma line of kings is found to have been called also by the name of Manda (69.184). Other *Puranas* like the *Bhabishya* and the *Samba* make mention of the Garudas while referring to the Garos.

The *Vedic* literature, the great epics and the *Puranas*, with such stray and isolated references, can still be taken as one of the sources of information for the earliest period of Garo History.

(iii) *Philology* : Sir Grierson made a survey of the languages of India in the first quarter of this century. In his monumental survey, almost all the languages and dialects spoken in the north-eastern parts of India have been brought under a common linguistic stock called the Tibeto-Burman. Further research on this line may enable us to establish the real relations among these various language and dialect groups and help us to discover the history of the dim past.

(iv) *Foreign Accounts* : Classical accounts left by the Greeks and the Romans starting from the fifth century B.C., while referring to Assam in general, contain certain allusions to the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the Garos. Proper study and identifications of these references may bring to light certain aspects of the history of the Garos of that period.

Pliny (c. 23-79 A.D.), a Roman scholar, in his *Natural History* (vi), while referring to some Tibeto-Burman tribes of

north-eastern India, mentions also of the Mandeï living on the Mount Maleus, located beyond Palibothra in the east. Mandeï has been identified with the Garos as they call themselves Mande, and Maleus with the Garo Hills.

The other important classical source, mentioning peoples and places of Assam and the hills of north-eastern India, is the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea* of the first century A.D. This book mentions a tribe called Sesatae doing marketing in Malabathrum (Tezpat) or Cassia leaf. Sesatae probably stands for the Garos and other Bodos.

Ptolemy's Geography, a work of about 150 A.D., also constitutes an important source of history as it contains certain references to the Garo hills and the Garos. Ptolemy's Besadam has been identified with the Sesatae of the *Periplus*, which probably stands for the Garos. Ptolemy also makes mention of Garinaoi which may be identified with the Garos.

Other classical authors like Pomponius Mela, Pausanius, Dionysius, Aelian and Horace make mention of the people who were the dwellers of the hills of north-eastern India and experts in the use of bows and arrows.

Thus, judged by the stray references of the classical writers, though in some cases vague, the mention of a number of tribes almost in their present habitat in north-eastern India is important, particularly for the first two or three centuries A.D., when other accounts are lacking.

Muslim and other Sources: Of the Muslim writers, mention may be made of Ibn-Battuta (1325-1354 A.D.) whose account is important as it depicts the cultural conditions of the people in general.

Mirza Nathan's *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, a history of the Moghul wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, Bengal and Bihar in the first quarter of the seventeenth century A.D., is an important source of Garo history, as it contains an account of the names of places of the Garos and the recruitment of about 4,000 Garos in the Muslim army, with the help of which they won a number of battles.

Other accounts like the *Deodhai Buranji* and other *Buranjis*

also supply us with useful information, throwing light on contemporary events.

(v) *British Government Official Records*: There is a mass of old Records in the Assam Secretariat Record office. These old records have been preserved in bound volumes as well as in bundles and files. The mass of these records is in manuscript, only an infinitesimal portion thereof being in print. These records generally contain either letters received from different quarters or letters issued to different quarters. A few volumes contain notes, diaries and circulars. There are some volumes of rough drafts of letters issued.

The value of these old records can hardly be overestimated. They tell the early story not only of the formation, growth and development of Assam as a state and the hills as districts but also inform us of the life and history of the peoples of north-eastern India, before their occupation of these areas.

2. *Archaeological Sources*: Archaeological sources can be classified under (i) Prehistoric and historic remains, (ii) Monuments, and (iii) Inscriptions.

(i) *Prehistoric and historic remains*: The term 'Pre-historic' is used by archaeologists to denote remains which are anterior to recorded history. In the Garo Hills, these pre-historic remains include stone tools, rock-shelters, fossilised bones, petrified stones and Megalithic monuments. Megalithic monuments in the Garo Hills are composed of Dolmen, monoliths of wooden, bamboo or stones erected in memory of the dead. Neolithic remains consist of microlith, flints, hard ornaments of bone, shell and ivory.

The collections of these artifacts in large quantities by the Anthropological Department of Gauhati University in the past years indicate the antiquity of the Garo tribe.

The study of these remains will certainly help the historians to get a clue about the economic and social conditions of that time.

Fossilised bones and petrified stones are still lying strewn all over the south-eastern parts of the Garo Hills bordering Bangladesh. The existence of these remains also confirms the

statement contained in the *Manu Samhita*, *Ramayana*, *Kalika Purana* and other ancient Indian Texts that the Garo Hills were located on the shores of Lohit-Sagara and the Mandehas were the inhabitants of these hills.

(ii) *Monuments* : The study of old monuments and sites forms an interesting pursuit for the archaeologists and the historians. The excavations of Harappa and Mohenjodaro are instances of such fascinating pursuits. The excavations of these sites brought to light a flood of materials for the construction of the history of the Indus Valley. Garo Hills also contain some sites of ancient civilizations. There are certain areas where we still find the relics of the old palatial buildings. The areas between Phulbari and Garobadha, covering the western fringes of the Garo Hills district, are full of bricks and other remains. In another place in the Garo Hills, about six miles from Bhogamara en route to Bangalkata, is found the ruins of the ancient palace and buildings of a Rajah. In 1848, in the course of punitive expeditions against the western Garos, Captain C. S. Reynolds made some enquiries on these ruins and was told that this was the palace and city of Rajah Bissondor, who flourished long before the occupation of the country by the Moghuls. No further research has been done after this.

Another place where the relics of ancient palace and city are found still in abundance is a Garo village called Kinangaon, which now falls in the Kamrup district of Assam. Legend has it that this was the palace and capital city of a Garo king named Arambit and his queen Juge Silche. Another place which abounds with the remains of ancient buildings is called Suryya Pahar, a few miles from the Goalpara town. According to Garo tradition, this was the palace and city of a Garo king named Habra, and his kingdom came to be known as the Habraghat pargana today.

The Nokrek peak, the highest peak in the Garo Hills, is also traditionally believed to be the site of the palace of a Garo king, Abong Noga by name. Signs of old buildings are still in existence.

The excavations and study of these archaeological remains

may help us to confirm the traditional stories that are current among the Garos and thereby enable us to ascertain certain facts concerning their history.

(iii) *Inscriptions* : A few inscriptions on rocks and stone slabs are in existence in some Garo villages. They are still preserved by the Garos for future investigations and studies. These inscriptions contain the pictures of some animals. Some of them contain writings in unknown alphabets. A proper study of these inscriptions may tell us something about the past history of the Garos and their relations with the neighbouring kings and peoples.

From the above we have found that the majority of the sources of Garo history have not yet been deciphered. Therefore, unless and until all these sources are examined no work on Garo history can claim to be authentic and authoritative.

British and Post-Independence Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE KHASHIS AND JAINTIAS

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THE KHASHIS AND JAINTIAS are one of the oldest tribes of Assam, whose antiquity may perhaps be traced back to a century or even centuries before Christ. Though they are known by various names¹ to the people in the plains below their hills and they denominate themselves also variously, they are in all probability a tribe of the same ethnic stock. They speak the same language, Monkhimr, which belongs to the Austric family of speeches. According to Gait, "The Khashis and Syntengs (Jaintias) are a remnant of the first Mongolian overflow into India who established themselves in their present habitat at a remote period".² Although the Jaintias in particular are believed to have been frequently mentioned in ancient Indian literature,³ they came in the view of history first, from the myths and legends which enwrapped their ancient career, in the middle ages, when, besides the Herodotian sources⁴ of personal observation, inscriptions and reports of eye-witnesses, we could obtain also considerable amount of external evidence. Take the large kingdom of Jaintia which embraced besides the hills, an extensive territory in Sylhet district and in the Brahmaputra Valley. The Khasi states also emerged from obscurity about the same time. According to Khasi traditions, there were Laiphew Syiems⁵ or thirty independent Chiefs in the Khasi Hills alone; most of them were, however, insignificant. Except sketches mostly of legends and traditions or accounts dealing with their political relations with the Ahoms, there was no effort to collect a history of the Khashis and Jaintias in the pre-British period. It is only in the British period

that systematic efforts were made to reconstruct a history of the Khasis and Jaintias by using different sources, though a fuller history is possibly yet to be written.

NATURE OF THE SOURCES FOR THE BRITISH AND POST-BRITISH PERIODS

The chief sources for the history of the Khasis and Jaintias for the British period as distinct from the post-British period are the official records, both unpublished and published. Indeed, it may be said that for the first one century and four decades of British contact and rule, till 1905, we have to rely solely on official records and contemporary writings and literary works by the European non-officials and officials. Thus the historical evidence of the period is mainly of literary and foreign origin.

There is no contemporary literary or historical work of the nineteenth century by Indian writers concerning the Khasis and Jaintias. Political considerations might explain the lack of any contemporary writing by non-Tribal Indians about the Khasis and Jaintias. For the Government attempted to keep the tribals separated from the plainsmen. There was no indigenous literature of the nineteenth century which mirrored the lives of the people. The Khasis, at the advent of the British into the hills, were in pre-literate stages of culture. Until education was spread among them and the Roman script was introduced by the Christian Missionaries for their language, a purely indigenous literature could not grow. However, since the last decade of the nineteenth century, a Khasi literature, including secondary historical works, journals, magazines and newspapers, began to appear.

In the twentieth century, non-tribal intellectuals and writers began to take a more lively interest in the hill people. The result was a number of illuminating works on the hill people, including the Khasis and Jaintias. However, official and non-official writings of European origin overweighed in the balance against indigenous literary works. Archaeological evidence is rare, though not entirely absent.

In the post-British period the balance was upset rather against the official writings and records. The spate of contemporary political tracts and literary works far outweigh official publications and documents. The debates in the legislature and the programmes of political parties go to increase the source materials of the history of the day. The problem is to select the materials of historical value.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SOURCES

The sources of the British period can be classified under the following heads :

Primary Sources

(1) Unpublished official records : They consist of documents which are deposited in the Assam, Bengal and Delhi Archives or even in the Commonwealth Relations Office, London. Some of the unpublished records of the Assam Government and of the District office of Sylhet are given below :

(A) For the period 1765-1823, the following records would be useful, besides the contemporary literary works.

(i) District records of Sylhet.

(ii) District records of Sylhet and Rangpur edited by Archdeacon Firminger.

(iii) Captain Welsh's report to the Government in 1794.

(iv) Records of the Jaintia Rajdarbar.

(B) For the period 1823-1873, the volumes of correspondence between the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier and the Commissioner of Assam available at the Government Records office, Assam, and the Shillong Secretariat. These volumes are entitled either "Letters received from the Government" or "Letters issued to the Government or other Government agencies, such as District officers, Board of Revenue or other miscellaneous authorities".

(C) for the period 1874-1905, the Chief Commissioner's Files in the same office, covering Foreign Proceedings and Miscellaneous Records.

(D) For the period 1905-1921, Political Proceedings available in the same Records office, Assam Secretariat, Shillong.

(E) For the period 1921-1936, Political Proceedings and Governor's Secretariat Records available in the same office.

(F) For the period 1937-43, the Governor's Secretariat records found in the same Records office.

(2) The next group of official records may be called Published Administrative Reports, such as A. J. M. Mill's Reports of 1854.

(3) Literary sources :

(i) Historical : e.g., Wade's *An Account of Assam*, Robinson's *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, Sir E. A. Gait's *A History of Assam*, etc.

(ii) Memoirs of eminent Englishmen and the records of Christian Missions.

(iii) Anthropological monographs and articles in the Journals.

(4) Contemporary Journals, Magazines, Periodicals, such as the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, the *Calcutta Review*, the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 7, the *Journal of Assam Research Society*, etc.

(5) Archaeological evidence. There are only three extant archaeological remains of the period, viz., a Hindu Temple at Nartiang in the Jaintia Hills, the large monuments on the tomb of David Scott with an inscription at Cherra and the megalithic remains of the ancient Khasis.

(6) Indigenous Khasi literature and journals of the later part of the nineteenth century and twentieth.

For the post-British period, the following sources are useful :

(i) The resolutions, memoranda and literary tracts issued by the political parties of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.

(ii) Government communiques, Commission Reports, District Council Records and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Assam and Parliament.

(iii) The press, both local and those published outside the district.

EXTENT AND DEPENDABILITY OF THE
SOURCE-MATERIALS

Before we examine the dependability of the source-materials, it would be convenient to explore at some length their extent under each category. The sources for the early period of British relations with the Khasis and Jaintias, say from 1765, when the John Company by virtue of the acquisition of the Dewani of Bengal became the rulers of Sylhet district which abutted on the territories of the Khasis and Jaintias, down to 1826 when at least the two Khasi states of Jaintia and Nungkhlow entered into subsidiary alliances, the British records and other sources are not so plentiful as those of the later part of the nineteenth century. This is because till then the Khasi-Jaintia Hills were not opened up by British conquest.

For this period of sixty-one years (1765-1826), we have, of course, the unpublished Government records, for example, the one edited by Archdeacon Firminger is accessible to us. The Assam Government records entitled "Letters received from and issued to the Government" (Commissioner's Files) are available. We have also some memoirs and other literary works, besides District Gazetteers and indigenous accounts of the Jaintias in particular. Before the outbreak of the Anglo-Burmese war and annexation of Assam, the Company's government was particularly concerned with the collection of information about what they called their "rude neighbours", the Khasis and Jaintias, with whom they had to fight occasionally to repulse their frequent raids and also to carry on trade.

The first British Resident of Sylhet, Thackeray, had long-standing complaints against the Jaintia government for obstructing trade in the river Surma. He sought permission from the Commissioner of Dacca for taking military action. The Commissioner consulted Rennell, the Surveyor General of Bengal, who seemed to have some knowledge of the topography of the hills. Rennell advised the Government to confine the operations to the plains and not to pursue them into the hills, "for they are reported to make use of a variety of stratagems to ensnare their pursuers". Rennell's advice was accepted. Captain Henniker,⁶

the leader of the British force, defeated the Jaintias in 1774 and compelled the king to pay a heavy indemnity. The operations were confined to the plains portion of the kingdom. There was at this time some talk of annexing Jaintia and handing it over to a Mahommedan Zemindar of Sylhet. Thackeray, however, stoutly opposed the idea and the state was restored to the king. There are at least three illuminating literary accounts on the episode, viz., *The Historical Records of the Survey of India* edited by Phillimore, *Sylhet Thackeray* by Bradley Birt and *The History of Jaintia* by Syed Murtaza Ali. The official records support the published works.

Thackeray's successors in Sylhet, called Collectors of Sylhet, had complaints against the Khasi raids. The Company inherited from the Mughals the lucrative "Chunam" trade with the Khasi Hills. Collector Lindsay built up an extensive lime trade with the Khasis in the midst of exchange of blows in the border with the Khasis. The history of the Khasi raids in the plains of Sylhet can be read in the *Sylhet District Gazetteer* edited by B. C. Allen. We have, moreover, a delightful account of the transaction of Robert Lindsay in *Lives of Lindsays* by Lord Lindsay. Robert Lindsay's experiences of the Khasis were recorded in the work. Lindsay thought that the Khasis were "Tartars" having connection with China.

The Khasi raids in the Sylhet plains, however, continued till the annexation of the Hills in 1833. B. C. Allen, editor of *Gazetteer of Sylhet*, held that the loose control of the former Moghul Government on the frontier and conduct of the "Low Europeans" engaged in lime trade in the Khasi Hills, were responsible for the frequency of Khasi raids.

Meanwhile, war with the Burmese Conqueror of Assam broke out. After the annexation of Assam, the British territory surrounded the Khasi-Jaintia Hills from the north as well. Apart from the vexatious raids from the hills, David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier of Bengal, felt the imperative need of linking up Gauhati with Sylhet by means of a road across the hills. He established contact with Chief Tirot Singh of Nungklow and Bur Manick of Myllim

State. The Government had, however, collected some information about the Khasi chiefs long before the appearance of David Scott and the Burmese War. The earlier British view of the Khasis is found in Capt. Welsh's report of 1794 and two desultory accounts by British writers. Dr. John Wade's *An Account of Assam* (1797) and Hamilton's *An Account of Assam*, collected between 1807 and 1814, are useful only to a limited extent.

So when Scott entered into diplomatic relations with the Khasi Chief, Tirot Singh, he had some information to go by. Tirot Singh concluded a treaty with the Company (1826) and gave it the right to construct a road, which became known later as "Imperial Road",⁸ across his territory from Rani to Cherra and then Sylhet. We have an excellent account of Scott's transactions with Tirot Singh, the Khasi system of democracy and the events that led to war between the Government and the Khasi chiefs. The *Memoirs of David Scott* by Adam White is a good authority on the period. There are two other extant published official accounts of the period, viz., Pemberton's *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India* which has two sections devoted to the "Cossyahs" and "Jyntea", while Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, etc.*, Vol. I, which came out much later, provides more information about the early Syiems of the Khasi States.

On the events that led to the Khasi war of independence (1829-33) under the leadership of the valiant chief of Mungklow, Tirot Singh, and the subsequent annexation of the Khasi Hills, as also on David Scott's engagements with "Jynteah" in 1824 and annexation of the Kingdom in 1835, Pemberton and Aitchison give the official pleas for Government policy in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Alexander Mackenzie, the author of *The History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of North-East Frontier of Bengal*, echoes the earlier authorities verbatim. From the published official records, therefore, the real story of the British conquest of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills is not available. The unpublished records, however, show that the Court of Directors of the Company had different views from their servants in India on the Khasi war and the Court disapproved

of the annexation of Jaintia.⁹ Without studying the unpublished records, therefore, it is difficult to assess correctly the circumstances of the annexation of these hills.

The twentieth century researches by Indian scholars have, however, set the records straight. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan was the first among the Indian scholars of this century to refer to the Khasis and Jaintias in his *Anglo-Assamese Relations*. But it is Dr. R. M. Lahiri's *Annexation of Assam*, Dr. N. K. Baruah's *David Scott in North-East India*, and Dr. H. K. Barpujari's *Problem of the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier*, which throw ample light on the history of the British annexation of Khasi-Jaintia Hills. There are, however, some lacunae in the history of the period, for example, the actual date of the death of Tirot Singh in British captivity is not known beyond dispute. Professor K. N. Dutta's *A Handbook of Old Records* (Assam Secretariat) refers to March 1834 as the date of his death, but without quoting any authority. It is still a matter of warm debate in the hills. Among the other Indian scholars who have contributed to the history of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, reference may be made to the *Eastern Frontier of British India* by Dr. A. C. Banerjee, *Ahom-Tribal Relations* by Dr. Mrs. L. Devi and B. C. Chakrabarti's *British Relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam since 1858*.

On the history of British administration, two very important contemporary published records may be mentioned. A. J. M. Mills's Report (1854) is a mine of information. It not only gives an account of the British administrative system, but also the relations of the Government with the Khasi State, their democratic and political institutions, economic condition of the people and a brief census of the population. In 1858, W. J. Allen submitted another "Report on the administration of Khasi and Jaintia Hills Territory". Among other things, he recommended construction of roads and levy of taxes on the Jaintias which, when imposed, is said to have led to the outbreak of the famous Jaintia rebellion of 1860-62. On the nature and causes of the Jaintia Rebellion, Buckland's *Bengal under the Lt. Governors*, Vol. I, throws some light. But an article in the *Journal of Assam Research Society* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari is

perhaps the most illuminating. Dr. H. Bareh has also discussed it threadbare, though in a haphazard way.

Under the Government auspices as also non-official European initiative, a host of exploratory, geographical, geological, semi-historical and anthropological works had been done throughout the nineteenth century. The accounts often contain valuable information on the Khasi-Jaintia Hills useful for historical purposes as well. Such are, for example, the *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. I, by Oldham, *Records of the Survey of India*, Dr. John M'Cosh's *Topography of Assam* and the *Himalayan Journal* by Joseph Hooker. Robinson's *Descriptive Account of Assam* is almost a historical work. It mentions the Khasi customs, particularly the ancient system of trial of offenders.

While large volumes of scientific or literary works came out dealing with one or other aspect of the Khasi-Jaintia hills, a number of very valuable literary contributions also appeared in the contemporary journals. Such articles include, among others, H. U. Austen's 'Notes to accompany a geological Map of a portion of the Khasi Range, and of Jaintia Hills', Cockburn's 'Notes on the Neolithic Celts in the Khasi Hills', Shadwell's 'Notes on the inhabitants of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills', Lt. Yule's 'Notes on the Khasi Hills and people', and Sir Gait's 'Notes on the Jaintia History'. All these articles were published in different issues of the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* ranging from 1844 to 1895. The *Calcutta Review* published Robinson's article on 'The Khasia Hills' in 1841 and also 'The Records of the Jaintia Darbar'. Robinson gives an early account of British administration and criticises the adoption of Roman script for the Khasi language as introduced by the Welsh Missionaries. Alexander Lish, the first Missionary in these hills and a Serampur Baptist, wrote in the *Calcutta Christian Science Observer* an article entitled 'A brief account of the Khasis' which throws some light on the question of script also.

The *Journal of Assam Research Society* in the thirties of this century published a few articles by Professor K. M. Gupta bearing on the Kingdom of Jaintia. Gupta translated the

inscriptions of Queen Mahadevi Kasasati. K. L. Barua's article on 'Human Sacrifice' as a rejoinder to Gait is also important.

Some foreign scholars, such as Logan, Professor Ernst Kuhn and Peter Schmidt discovered the links between the Khasi and Monkhimr Palaung dialects. Dr. Grierson, in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. II, confirmed the findings and accepted the theory of Khasi being a Mon-Khimr language. There are, of course, other views on the question. P. R. T. Gourdon brought out a monumental work entitled *The Khasis*, regarded as one of the most authoritative works. But a recent work by Chie Nakane *Garo and Khasi* (A comparative study in matrilineal system) throws a shade¹⁰ of doubt on one or two aspects of Gourdon's findings. The Government's renewed interest in the Hill Tribes, noticed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was manifest in the notes on them in the appendices to almost all the Census Reports published since 1881.

By the beginning of this century, considerable materials had been collected by the British administration to obtain an adequate knowledge about the Khasi-Jaintia people. The remaining deficiencies were filled up by the annual administrative Reports. The "Report on the administration of the province of Assam" (1901-1902) forms a valuable source of political historical and economic information. In 1901, Captain D. Herbert came out with an official "Report on succession to the Khasi Syiemship", which throws light not only on the pre-British system of electing the Syiems and other classes of Chiefs but also the changes effected in the system by the British Government.

On the economic history of the district of Khasi-Jaintia Hills, we have also some information. Sir William Wilson Hunter's *A Statistical Account of Assam*, Mills's report, the annual administrative reports, the *District Gazetteer of Khasi and Jaintia Hills* by B. C. Allen, and the Census Reports from 1881 to 1931 throw ample light on the economic development of the district. The impact of economic changes may be gleaned from J. P. Mills's article 'Some recent contact problems in the Khasi Hills' published in *Essays in Anthropology* presented to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. Sir E. A. Gait's *A History*

of *Assam* (First edition), published in 1906 and based mainly on official sources, contains references to the recent developments in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.

The chief non-official sources of the British period are the writings of the Christian Missions, the indigenous Khasi literature and journals and magazines. On the culture change in the hills and the work of the Christian Missions, we have a number of tracts and literary works in English and Khasi, e.g., *The History of our Foreign Mission, a history of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church* by J. H. Morris, *Ka History jong Ka Balang*, a Khasi work by the Rev. G. Angell, *Ka Shang Khmitt-Pyrthei Ka Diary IA KA Ri Khasi*, also in Khasi, by J. Herbert Roberts. The two latter are also devoted to Welsh Mission work in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. F. C. Down's *The Mighty work of God* throws light on the Serampore Baptist Mission's work in the Khasi Hills in the earliest phase of British rule.

In the Golden Jubilee Souvenir *The Salesians of Don Bosco in North-East India*, published in 1972, a brief account of the Catholic Mission's work can be found. There is, in the words of its editor, a "rich variety in the vineyard of the Lord". The tracts like the *Khasi Unitarians* and the Souvenir of the Anglican Church entitled "1865-1965", also throw some light on the social, educational and other activities of the Mission. The Catholic and Protestant journals in Khasi, for example, *u Nongkit Khubor*, *u Pateng Christian* (Welsh Mission magazines), and *u Nongialam Khristan*, etc., also throw some light on the works of the Christian Missions.

We may now turn to the Khasi literary works and journals and the few non-tribal journals. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a bumper harvest of Khasi literature, mostly of a cultural nature, began to ripen. At the forefront of the literary movement were Rubon Singh, author of *Ka Kitab Niam-Khein Khasi* and other tracts; Jeebon Roy, author of *Shapong U Wei U Blei* (concerning one God) and other important works, Sibcharan Roy, the author of numerous books and tracts and editor of at least two journals, and others. Two other books published by the Catholic Mission, viz., *Ka Riti Jong Ka Ri*

Laiphew Syiem by D. Costa and *Ki Dienjal Jong Ki Longshuwa* (on the footprints of our ancestors) by J. Bacciarello, must be mentioned. One of the greatest Khasi writers of the age is Dr. H. Lyngdoh. A doctor by profession, he brought out two works of great value, viz., *Ka Niam Khasi* and *Ki Syiem Khasi bad Synteng*, the latter being a history of the Khasis and Syntengs. They are important sources of Khasi culture and religion.

The Khasi literary awakening found expression also in numerous political and literary journals, most of which were, however, shortlived. Reference may be made to the *U Khasi Mynta* (Khasi Today), a periodical of Hormu Roy Diengdoh, the *U Lurshai* (Bright Star) of so so Tham, the *U Nongphira* and the *U Nongphynim* (Deliverer) edited by Sibcharan Roy. The journals furnish information about the growing political consciousness among the Khasis of the period.

These numerous journals and literary works are the precursors of political and social awakening among the Khasis before independence. K. Kantlie's *Notes on Khasi Law* has a chapter on the Khasi political movement entitled "Federation", besides other political information including his description of the Khasi Laws. On the eve of independence a large number of political parties came into existence. The resolutions and memoranda of these parties, coupled with "Report on the Indian Statutory Royal Commission" Vol. XIV and "Memorandum of the Assam Government to the Indian Statutory Commission" with a note on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills by the Rev. J. J. M. Nichols Roy in 1930, are important sources for the history of the district of this period.

POST-BRITISH PERIOD

The source-materials for the post-British period are abundant. The most prolific sources of information of the period are the resolutions and memoranda of political parties, such as the "Khasi National Durbar", "Khasi States Federation", "Khasi Jaintia Federated States" and a branch of the Indian

National Congress, all of which had their origin in the pre-independence period.

The most important political party since 1960 is the "All Parties Hill Leaders Conference" (A.P.H.L.C.), itself a federation of parties, which led the movement for the creation of the Meghalaya State. Its resolutions, election manifestoes and numerous tracts are important sources for the contemporary history of Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

The resolutions of the Assam Congress Committee, various memoranda submitted by it to the Central Government, and above all political tracts, such as "January, 26", published in 1969, are highly important.

Of the official records, mention may be made of the resolutions of the sub-committee of the Constituent Assembly known as Bardoloi Committee on the North-East Frontier, the reports of the "States Reorganisation Commission" (1955), the Assam Official Language Act of 1960, the "Report of the Hill Areas Commission" headed by Mr. Pataskar (1965), the records of District Councils, the Report of the German Commission appointed to enquire into the demand for a separate District Council for the Jaintia Hills, the Central Government Communiqués on the issue of a separate state for the Khasis.

Above all, the reportings in the local Khasi press, the *Assam Tribune* of Gauhati, and reviews in the Calcutta press, apart from the *Assam Gazette* and proceedings of the Assembly and Parliament relating to the demand for a hill state are also highly important sources of information.

A verdict on the dependability of our source-materials is not easy to pronounce. Since these enormous masses of administrative records and researches were meant for the "practical benefit"¹¹ of the colonial power and written with a view "to utilize"¹² the hill tribes in British imperial interests, they cannot but be jaundiced and tendentious. Some illustrations of their jaundiced views as in the case of *Khasi War of Independence* and *Jaintia Rebellion* have been already referred to. Not unoften the British government attempted to shift the blame for their own misdeeds on others. There are other instances of Government policy which ought to be objectively examined

Again, on the role of the Government in effecting culture change in the Hills, the Government Reports are often silent.

The problem with the source materials of the post-British period is that it is difficult to obtain an unbiased account of political developments, surcharged as the atmosphere is by emotions. Perhaps the contemporary developments should better be left to future historians.

ANY PROBLEM OR DIFFICULTY IN USING THE SOURCE MATERIALS

There are adequate materials in the Assam Secretariat Records Office at least for the period since 1823, provided these are available. Unfortunately, the partition of India deprived us of some of the valuable records of the Sylhet district and Dacca Commissioner. The latest blow to research pursuits came with the reorganisation of Assam and the shifting of valuable records to Dimapur, and these are unfortunately not available for research. A Central Archives for preserving the records of Assam Government, instead of partitioning the assets, would have been of immense advantage to scholars. Want of a good Library is another serious problem for research work.

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- ¹ The Assamese name for the Khasis was "Garo", *Jayanti Buranji* edited by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan. According to Holiram Dekhial Phukan, author of *Assam Buranji*, published in 1829, and an Article of Lt. Yule in *J. A. S. B.* in 1844. Bengalis called them Khasis. For their own denominations, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. II, by Grierson.
- ² *A History of Assam* by E. A. Gait, p. III.
- ³ The Mahabharata, Markandeya Purana and Jogini Tantra are said to have referred to the Jaintia, see *Background of Assamese Culture* by R. M. Nath and *Jaintia Buranji* by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan.
- ⁴ For Herodotian sources, see *Culture and History* by Philip Bag, p. 32.

- ⁵ *Ka Riti gong Ki Ri Laiphew syiem* by D. Costa S. D. B.
- ⁶ Letter received from the Government, No. 2A of 1824, pp. 641-652 (Assam Commissioner's File), Assam Secretariat Records Office, Shillong.
- ⁷ *The History of Bengal* edited by N. K. Sinha, pp. 31, 33, 39.
- ⁸ Letters received from the Government, No. 3029, 1 August 1860, Assam Sectt.
- ⁹ *Problems of the Hill Tribes : North-East Frontier* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, p. 98.
- ¹⁰ C. Kakane refutes Gourdon that "Polyandry did not exist among the Khasis". She pointed to the Lynggom Khasis.
- ¹¹ "The Non-Aryan Languages of India High Asia" (A comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages) by W. W. Hunter, p. 16. "The original purpose of these researches was a purely political and administrative one" —W. W. Hunter ; see also Preface to the book.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 1. Dissertation — Political, p. 8.

HISTORY OF THE GAROS IN THE BRITISH AND POST-BRITISH PERIOD

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TECHNICALLY the Garos came under British rule from the time of the grant of the Dewani (1765) to the East India Company. To the Mughals the Garos paid tributes of elephants and agar-wood, while from 1765 they were made to pay in cotton which was collected by the Zamindars and their retainers. By 1794 the estates were made *Istimrany mahals* or lands paying rent in perpetuity. As a result of this modification the Zamindars often inflicted unbearable atrocities on the Garos like forcible demands of grains, livestock and other necessities. The Garos, in retaliation, resorted to all kinds of outrages in the plains, against which the Zamindars received regular support from the British.*

It was on three occasions that the Garos came into prominence in the history of Meghalaya (Assam) : (i) as regular headhunters and a terror to the people in the plains in the pre-British and, to some extent, during the British period ; (ii) as the 'Karens' of Assam during the time of the missionaries which kept the torch of missions burning in North-Eastern India ; and (iii) in the birth of a new State which was called 'a triumph of tribal genius'.

Compared to the other contemporary tribes the records on the life of the Garos are scanty and, unfortunately, there were no Garo historians to record the glories and triumphs of their ancestors. Most of the books written during this period were stereotyped anthropological analyses on the Garo social and cultural conditions.

* Barpujari, H. K., *Problem of the Hill Tribes in North-East India*, 1822-42, p. 21.

Gleaning from the available sources, the study may be broken into three periods : (a) the period of consolidation and occupation ; (b) the golden era of missions (Christian Missions) ; and (c) the post-independence developments.

Primary sources of information on the history of the Garos for the said periods may be had from the following :

- (i) Administrative Documents and Reports including the administrators' diaries ;
- (ii) Mission Reports and Publications ;
- (iii) Recent publications on the birth of a new State.

Secondary information may be had from the anthropological or social studies made in recent years, including personal testimonials.

From the administrative documents and personal reports it is possible to trace the history of the Garos, in what manner the gradual expansion of British rule was taking place in the Garo Hills and what measures were taken to subdue the 'bloodthirsty' Garos and transform them into their present civilised life.

For the first phase Dr. H. K. Barpujari, in his book *Problem of the Hill Tribes in North-East Frontier, 1822-42*, has covered the period from 1765 to 1836 when Capt. Jenkins set up his headquarters at Singimari. Francis Hamilton's *An Account of Assam (1807-1814)* and Capt. R. Bolleau Pemberton's *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India (published in 1835 and 1966)* and Dr. S. K. Bhuyan's *Tungkhungia Buranji (1681-1826)* mention briefly about the Garos during the period they covered. Sir E. A. Gait's *A History of Assam* described briefly the final assault on the Garos by the British from 1811 to 1873. Dr. N. K. Barooah's *David Scott in North-East India* presents a good coverage between 1804 and 1831 during which period much of the British occupation was achieved. The study of David Scott's administration and his suggestions to the British Government bore much weight. It was his legacy which Capt. Jenkins carried on successfully. My colleague Professor P. C. Kar, in his book, *British Annexation of Garo Hills (1970)*, has tried to present a chronology of events that led to the final annexation of the Garo Hills by the British.

Apart from the regular administrative documents and analyses *The Garo Jungle Book* by William Carey presents a picture of the people from the point of view of missionary work and the influence of Christian Missionaries on Garo life. Similarly, *The Mighty Works of God—A Brief History of the Council of Baptist Churches in North-East India: The Mission Period 1836-1950* gives a brief account of the growth of the Church in the Garo area (Garo Hills, Goalpara and Kamrup including the Garos in Nówgong district) and the way the Church has contributed towards the life of the Garos.

The *A' Chikni Ripeng*, a monthly journal in Garo published by the Garo Baptist Convention (since 1886), informs the readers about the changes taking place from time to time, and it is the only available regular record on the life of the Garos since its inception. Besides, the *Assam Baptist Missionary Conference Reports*, 1893-1950, and the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vols. XV (1835)-LXVI (1886) cover the early Missionary work among the Garos. These reports are as good as Government reports, as much of the administrative work was entrusted to the Christian Missionaries in the early stages of British administration, e.g., running of the schools was completely in the hands of the Missionaries (possibly due to David Scott's influence).

The Garo National Council was born in 1935. After independence the Garo National Council participated in the first General Election and it won all the four seats. With the establishment of the District Council in 1951 the GNC controlled the administration. In 1954 the GNC leaders joined other tribal leaders of U. K. and J. Hills which later materialised in another meeting in June 1954 where leaders from the Mizo Hills and North Cachar Hills joined them to sound a new note on tribal affairs in North-Eastern India. Here, for the first time, they decided to have a separate State for the Hill Areas that would include Garo Hills, United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Mizo Hills, Naga Hills and Mikir and North Cachar Hills.

This marked the birth of the Eastern India Tribal Union (first called the Assam Hill Tribal Union). The States Re-

organisation Commission visited Tura in 1955, and the GNC leaders along with the leaders of U. K. and J. Hills and North Cachar Hills challenged the verdict of the Commission in the General Election in 1957. Later, as a form of rapprochement with the plains people Mr. W. A. Sangma was inducted to B. P. Chaliha's Cabinet which lasted for two years. With the passing of the State Language Bill in 1960 the last cudgel was nabbed at the back of the Hill Leaders, and as a result the All Party Hill Leaders Conference was born in the Shillong meeting of July 6-7, 1960. The Haflong Conference of the APHLC held on November 23, 1960, finally decided to part with Assam.

The hectic political negotiations and manoeuvres in 1960-61 resulted in Nehru's Scottish Pattern of devolution and it almost took a concrete shape when on April 18, 1964, the APHLC decided to give a fair trial to the Plan. But the sudden demise of Pandit Nehru (May 27, 1964) stalled its fruition. During 1965-66 the picture seemed quite dark. The Pataskar Commission was rejected and the Mizo extremists started operating against the Government.

In June 1966 G. L. Nanda visited Shillong, followed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her declaration on December 27, 1966, for reorganisation of Assam to give proper dignity and status to the Hills people. The January 13, 1967, announcement confirmed Prime Minister's earlier promise. But when the Asoke Mehta Committee was set up on July 13, 1967, it was boycotted by the Hills leaders. Then on September 11, 1968, the Government of India announced the Autonomous State Plan. The necessary legislation to this effect was passed by both the Houses of Parliament on December 24, 1969, and the Autonomous State within Assam was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi on April 2, 1970. This arrangement worked for two years. Later the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, was passed by both the Houses of Parliament on December 22, 1971. A full-fledged State of Meghalaya was inaugurated on January 21, 1972, by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

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HISTORY OF THE GAROS OF MEGHALAYA IN THE BRITISH AND POST-BRITISH PERIOD

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THE DISTRICT OF GARO HILLS occupies the western part of Meghalaya and is bounded by the district of Goalpara of Assam on the north and west, by Khasi Hills on the east and by the district of Mymensingh of Bangladesh on the south.

The grant of the Dewany of Bengal in 1765 to the British extended their dominion to the border of the Garo Hills. Garo outrages and clashes with the surrounding estate-holders drew the Company's attention towards the Garos for peace and security along that border. Mr. John Eliot's report of 1788-89 was the earliest comprehensive source of information about the Garos of the southern Garo Hills, and Francis Hamilton (Dr. Buchanan) was the first to write an account of the Garos on the Assam border in his *Account of Assam*, first compiled in 1807-1814. Thomas Sisson, the Joint Magistrate of Rungpur (Rungpoore) of which Goalpara district was then a part, prepared a report in February, 1815, for effectively dealing with Garo affairs. Bengal Judicial Proceedings, April, 1815 (No. 17) and February, 1816, are replete with accounts of Garo raids and ravages and the measures suggested to be taken for combating them. Shortly afterwards, David Scott, architect of British domination over Assam, prepared a detailed report in August 1816 on the customs, traditions, trade and agriculture of the Garos and also on their relations with the lowland estate-holders, suggesting therein measures for secluding the Garos from the former's control and bringing the tribe under the Company's direct supervision. Again, in a report of 1818 David Scott suggested a plan of administration supposed to be adaptable to the pecu-

liar customs and prejudices of the Garos. Consequently Regulation X of 1822 was passed and a non-regulation system of administration was introduced (Bengal Judicial and Criminal Consultations, September, 1816, No. 47). Criminal Consultations, 1807 and 1808, Judicial Consultations, 1811, Revenue Consultations, 1812, Judicial and Criminal Consultations, 1813-1827, Judicial Letters from Bengal 1815-1827, Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements and Sanctions* Vol. XII, R. Clark's *Bengal Regulations*, and A. White's *Memoir of David Scott* stand as primary sources of material for building up the political history of the Garos. W. Hamilton's *The Eastern India Gazetteer*, Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *North East Frontier of Bengal*, Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, Pemberton's *Eastern Frontier of British India*, editorial notes of W. K. Firminger and articles of other contributors in the pages of the *Bengal Past and Present*, the *Calcutta Review* of 1853, and the *Asiatic Journal* of 1830, also contain materials on the history of the Garos of those days.

Among the Indian authors, Dr. N. K. Barua's *David Scott in North East India*, Dr. H. K. Barpujari's *Problem of Hill Tribes of North East India*, B. C. Chakraborty's *British Relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam*, P. C. Kar's *British Annexation of Garo Hills* and J. B. Bhattacharjee's doctoral dissertation on the Garos also deal with that early period of Garo-British relations. All these works are also based on British reports on the Garos.

The Company's interest in trade and advances in Assam Plains needed peaceful relations with the hills and consequently the policy of non-intervention was to be replaced by that of direct administration. Reynold's narrative published in the Asiatic Society's *Journal* of 1849 (Vol. 18) gives details of that period. Mr. Moffatt Mills' *Report on the Province of Assam*, compiled in 1853, contains details on the area, population, revenue settlements, manufactures and trade, communication and administration. It also contains a few letters from the officers in charge of several districts on the hill tribes living in the neighbourhood of their respective jurisdictions, with a memorandum of British relations with Cooch Behar, Bhutan and Garo Hills, and also, Colonel Jenkin's letter containing an "account

of our present relations with the hill tribes on the frontiers of this province". This account embodies the earliest attempt at a systematic study of the hill tribes including the Garos. The object of Mills' compilation was chiefly official. But its value was enhanced by his impartial observations.

Since the establishment of the headquarters of British administration at Tura in the heart of the Hills under Lt. W. J. Williamson, in 1867, the consolidation of British supremacy over the hills had started. Besides the Political Proceedings as referred to above, Bengal Administration Reports, Assam Administration Reports, the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, Vol. II, B. C. Allen's *Assam District Gazetteers* on the Garos, Garo Hills Administration Reports since 1968 and the correspondence between Lt. W. J. Williamson and other Deputy Commissioners of Garo Hills and the Commissioner of Cooch Behar and Assam, and the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and periodical Inspection Reports of different Commissioners provide enough materials for constructing the history of the Garos. Details about the state of affairs in the interior of Garo Hills, revenue arrangements with Garo villages, enforcement of law and order through British made tribal agencies, compilation of routes through different parts of the interior, conduct of surveys, eclipse of estate-holders' rights within the hills and other administrative duties are to be found in those storehouses of materials.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie's book on the North East Frontier of Bengal provides us with an authentic account of Garos' history from the beginning of British contact till 1884. He examined the Judicial, Revenue and Political Proceedings, earlier Consultations of the Governments of Bengal and India, R. Clark's *Bengal Regulations*, *Assam Land and Revenue Manual* of Sir Edward Gait, *Assam Forest Manual*, *Manual of Local Rules and Orders* (as amended from time to time), and also Act XXII of 1869, Scheduled District Act of 1874, Regulation I of 1876, Regulation II of 1880, and Garo Hills Regulation of 1882. He thus provides us with a picture of the pattern of British administration. An enactory enclosure in an excluded territory characterised that administration.

Till the advent of the American Baptist Mission in the Garo Hills, reports of the Government officers were the only sources for the history of the Garos. The records in the "Daptar Khanas" or record-rooms of the offices of different zamindars of Mymensingh (Susung and Sherpur) and of Goalpara (Bijni, Gauripur, Karaibari, Lakhimpur) may also reveal a large mass of information on Garo history hitherto unknown. The mass of evidence that the Raja of Susung and the zamindars of Goalpara produced in their suits against the Government from out of their past and contemporary records may be considered as valuable non-official source of the Garos' history. This source is still left unutilised.

Proceedings and Reports of the conferences of the Assam Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union (specially that of 1911), and 'Chronicles' of the Roman Catholic Mission written in Italian, contain materials on the growth of the Baptist and Catholic Missions. Criminal and Judicial Consultations of 1825, 1827 and 1828 bring out David Scott's ideas on the needs of Missionary enterprise for the education and teaching of "useful arts" to the Garos. Baptist Mission Reports regularly provided materials on the periodic developments of education, health and hygiene, Garo language and literature, and spread of Christianity. District Administration Reports, Departmental Reports of D.P.I., Assam, and the statistical returns kept in the office of D.I. of Schools, Garo Hills, contain materials on the development of education among the Garos. "Report on the progress of education in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1901-02 to 1906-07", is particularly important for a fuller treatment and critical appraisal of educational growth in Garo Hills.

Among the secondary sources, William Carey's *Garo Jungle Book*, Dr. M. C. Mason's *How the Bible came into Garos' Language*, Fr. Pianazzi's *In Garo Land*, the Centennial volume of the Baptist Mission's Journal, *A° chikni Ripeng*, and P. C. Kar's *A° chik aro A° chik A° song* also provide additional materials on certain aspects of the Garos' History.

Garo periodicals like *A° chikna U° ani*, *A° chik Sangbad*,

and *Pring Prang* (organ of G. N. C.) provide us with materials on the growth of the Garo National Council, now a political party of the Garos, and also about other political developments in the Garo Hills. The Bordoloi Committee Report, the 6th Schedule to the Constitution of India, the Memorandums submitted from the Garo Hills to the States Reorganisation Commission and its Report, the Memorandums submitted by different political parties like the Congress, the G. N. C., and the A. A. C. K., and by the minority communities to the Pataskar Commission, and also different memorandums and proceedings of the APHLC conferences provide us with materials on the formation and working of the autonomous District Council, and the development of the Hills State movement in the district.

Proceedings of the District Council Sessions, Rules and Regulations passed by the Council since 1952, Vaghaiwalla Committee's Report and the Memorandums submitted to Pataskar Commission as referred to above, Proceedings of the Committee meetings and records of the defunct Tura Fund and District Fund Committees kept in the District Council and the periodic Inspection Reports of the Commissioner can put up materials for the history of the local self-Government institutions in the Garo Hills.

A Bibliography is also attached to the paper. It contains a few more references that may also provide materials for the history of the Garos in the British and post-British period.

During the British period, sources for the Garo History had always been the reports of different Government officers. Books and treatises on the Garos were prepared on the basis of those official records. Zamindary records were not known to have been used for writing any part of Garos' History in the British period. The lone exception was a book compiled by a Karai-bari Zamindar on their rights, privileges and jurisdiction over a part of the Garo Hills. Reports of different Missions only stand as a non-official source of history so far utilised by the existing writers on Garo-affairs. Both the Government and Missionary Reports are sometimes conditioned by their respective objectives. But the degree of dependability of these sources can

hardly be questioned in the absence of any indigenous sources to facilitate comparison and scrutiny.

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SPREAD OF BRAHMOISM IN THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS

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I

CHRISTIANITY is among the major world religions that has made much headway among the peoples of the Khasi, the Jaintia and the nearby Garo Hills, now comprising the State of Meghalaya, who originally professed what is known as animism. A perusal of the *Census Reports* and Hunter's *Statistical Accounts of Assam*, however, shows that these hillmen did not altogether set their faces back to Hinduism. The *Census Report* of 1891, for instance, refers to a group of Khasis bordering on the plains of Sylhet who adopted the Vaishnava form of Hinduism under the influence of a preacher of their own race. More interesting than this is what is found in the context of Hinduism in the said *Report*. Describing the Brahmos as members of the 'Modified form of Hinduism', Edward Gait, the Census Superintendent of Assam in 1891, estimates the number of the Brahmos in the Khasi-Jaintia and the Garo Hills at 95 and 5 respectively and observes that the number is by no means the real number of persons, 'partly because they desired to be classified as such and partly because many actually returned themselves as Hindus in enumeration schedules'. Mr. Gait further refers to a small Brahmo mission working among the Khasis and reportedly achieving 'fair success'. What Sivnath Sastri has said in this context in his *Mission of the Brahmo Samaj* (1910) may be recalled here. Sastri tells us that a mission of the 'Sadharan Brahmo Samaj', the third and the last wing of the Brahmo Church (set up on May 15, 1878) of which he was the guiding spirit, was at work among

the Khasis and says that it succeeded 'in drawing into its fold many of the hill people'. Gait's mission is, therefore, in all probability the one mentioned by Sivnath Sastri. And it appears that in the first few decades of this century the 'Sadharan Brahmo Samaj' was active among the Khasi people. While nothing is known of the missionary activities of the 'Bharatavarshiya Brahmo Samaj', the second wing of the Church (set up on November 11, 1866) presided over by Keshab Chandra Sen, among the peoples concerned, we have recently come across some interesting materials relating to the proselytizing activities of a gentleman of the 'Adi Brahmo Samaj'. The evidence of these materials appears to be all the more interesting, since this oldest wing of the Brahmo Church, the organisation of Debendranath Tagore, is not known to have evinced any interest in any kind of propaganda, after the split in 1866 that led to Keshabchandra's 'Samaj'.

II

Gleaned from the *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, the journal of the 'Adi Brahmo Samaj', these materials are embodied in two letters written by Prasanna Kumar Majumdar-Sastri to Kshitindranath Tagore, one of the editors of the said journal, as well as in the editorial comments praising the work of the former. As these interesting letters have not yet been noticed by any scholar, we deem it worthwhile to quote them *in extenso*.

In the first letter, dated Laban, Shillong, October 8, 1930, Majumdar-Sastri writes to Kshitindranath :

"We have nominated Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Datta, a former minister of the Government of Assam, and a Khasi gentleman, Mr. Sibcharan Ray, respectively the President and Vice-President of our Committee (i.e., the local committee of the Brahmo Samaj). My brothers and sisters of the Khasi community are showing esteem and respect to the Adi Samaj (i.e., the 'Adi Brahmo Samaj').... They do not follow casteism and are non-idolatrous. My Khasi brothers and sisters are very simple and their hearts are full of love and compassion. They speak the truth and are still un-

acquainted with theft, guile and treachery. They are monotheistic. They say that their religion is to work all day long with their mind devoted to the Almighty and in this lies their worship of Him Thus the idealism underlying the active life of the Khasi brothers and sisters is this : if one has to please God, he has to do the work He loves and to worship Him."

In the concluding portion of the letter the correspondent quotes what a Khasi gentleman told him : "Babu, we are Khasis, we are not Christians, though we visit the Church. We visit the Church in our self-interest."

The other letter written by Prasanna Kumar to Kshitindranath, dated Bejura, August 22, 1931, reads as follows :

"By your blessings I have stemmed the tide of conversion to Christianity among the hill people to a certain extent. Now these people are not embracing Christianity in large numbers as they did before. To withstand the Christian missionary activities, a big group has been formed under the leadership of Mr. Sibcharan Roy. Serious attempts are being made in the Khasi Hills to establish a Church-building named Kshitindra Sevasram. A Khasi king (i.e., a chief or Syiem) has promised a rent-free hill for the Asrama and for its upkeep ; attempts to raise a fund are afoot. Since this is a hard year of drought, collection is not satisfactory. I have proselytized hundreds of families among the tribal peoples like the Garo, Naga, Kuki, Lushai, etc., admitting them to the 'Adi Brahmo Samaj'. Missionary activities in the Hills are brisk Currently financial troubles faced by us in this region have handicapped us in implementing the programme according to our wish."

Though the spread of Brahmoism among the Khasis was mainly the work of the 'Sadharan Brahmo Samaj', these two letters supply us with an information, hitherto unknown, that an enthusiastic member of the 'Adi Brahmo Samaj', eschewing the usual policy of quietism of his brethren, embarked on a missionary programme in which he seems to have achieved a fair amount of success. The editors of the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* were all praise

for Prasanna Kumar and remarked in their editorial prefixed to the first letter :

"The selfless endeavour of our correspondent in spreading Brahmoism among the Khasis is really admirable.

III

Though the *Census Reports* do not always specify the number of Brahmos in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, it appears from a careful perusal that Brahmo Theism was favoured more by the Khasis than by others in Assam. Thus while J. McSwiney saw the Brahmos to be "strongest in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills" in 1911, G. T. Lloyd noticed in 1921 that nearly half of the Brahmos in Assam were residing at Shillong. The available Census figures are in support of the prominence of Brahmoism in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Thus in 1891, 95 out of 239 ; in 1901, 83 out of 360 ; and in 1911, 252 out of 428 Brahmos in Assam were living in the said region. Brahmoism, however, seems to have made very little progress in the adjoining Garo Hills, if one has to believe the Census figures. *The Census Reports*, except the one of 1891, do not record the presence of any Brahmo in the Garo Hills area ; in 1891 only 5 Brahmos are stated to have been living in the Garo Hills.

Two factors appear to be responsible for the infiltration and popularity of Brahmoism in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. First, the administrative headquarters of Assam being located at Shillong in the Khasi Hills, the government offices were chiefly manned by the emigrant Bengalees, not a few of whom were Brahmos, and being socially dominant in a province which was relatively backward in the new education and professional training, these Bengalee officers, clerks and ministers seem to have eminently succeeded in disseminating their culture in the land of their service-career. In other words, the Brahmo *bhadraloks* in and around Shillong appear to have done their best for making their creed popular among the local native population. Second, it may be reasonably believed that some of the persons returned as Brahmos in the enumeration schedules in different years were

visitors to Shillong and its neighbourhood, and not the indigenous Khasis and Assamese. And hence in view of the operation of these two factors one may consider Brahmoism in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills as an eastward extension of the Brahmo movement in Bengal.

Yet Brahmoism in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, or for that matter in other parts of Assam, was not an exclusively Bengalee affair. While the official figures do not always give us the correct picture of the situation, the results of the efforts of Prasanna Kumar and his colleagues as well as the activities of the Khasi Mission of the 'Sadharan Brahmo Samaj' are not adequately known. The inadequacy of the Census figures has been admitted by the Census Superintendents themselves. While they have attributed the relative prominence of Brahmoism in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills to the presence of government offices at Shillong, they have admitted at the same time that the figures of the Brahmo population obtained by them are not cent percent correct. As Mr. Gait frankly admits, the total number of Brahmos in Assam in 1891 officially estimated at 239 'is far below the actual facts'. Gait and his followers thus seem to imply that the correct numbers of Brahmos in Assam exceeded those they had recorded. Of their grounds for such an assumption, the first one is the desire of several Brahmos to declare themselves as Hindus in the Census schedules ; and the second, the accentuation of this desire owing to the gradual loosening of "the rigour of Hindu rules" along with "greater laxity in caste matters" and the consequent erosion of differences between Brahmoism and orthodox Hinduism. Though there were still many die-hard Brahmos who abhorred the idea of getting reabsorbed in Hinduism, it may be reasonably believed that in view of the closer proximity with the Hindus many a Brahmo might have returned themselves as Hindus in the enumeration schedules. The psychological climate in 1921, for instance, as revealingly described by G. T. Lloyd may be quoted here : "Liberal-minded Assamese and Bengalee people find that they can now hold what views they please and regulate their conduct much as they please while still retaining the name of Hindu". This becomes more clear from the next *Census Report*, viz., that of 1931, where, as the Census Superintendent himself

admits, many Brahmos were "included in the total of Hindus", the total number of Brahmos being 448 against 559 in 1921. This decline in the number of Brahmos was, therefore, more apparent than real. Had Brahmoism in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills, or for that matter in Assam, suffered any eclipse, we would not have come across the account of the activities of an enthusiastic Prasanna Kumar Majumdar in collaboration with a well-known Khasi convert, Mr. Sibcharan Roy, in the early thirties. The Khasi Mission of the 'Sadharan Brahmo Samaj' was also at work, at least it is not known to have suspended its activities. With more materials forthcoming, the outline of the history of Brahmoism in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills will be clearer than what it is now.

IV

Based on natural and universal theism, Brahmoism centres on One God or Supreme Being ; spiritually, the adherents of this faith believe that a person can be in living and loving communion with His Indwelling Presence, and socially, they are opposed to casteism of the Hindus. They tried, as it were, to effect a compromise between the ethical and social teachings of western Christianity and the traditional values of Hinduism, and the Khasis who were already familiar with Christianity did not show any aversion to the new creed. Like the Christians and Brahmos the Khasis are a monotheistic people with a society far from casteism. These two socio-religious factors, viz., monotheism and castelessness, brought the Brahmos and the Khasis closer together and provided Brahmoism an easy way of infiltration among the latter. The belief of the Khasis in One God or Supreme Being is illustrated, among others, by the titles often employed by them to denote their God, such as, *U Blei najrong natbian* (God the Omnipresent), *U Blei U Trai Kynrad* (God the Infinite), *U Blei U Nongbuk Nongthaw* (God the Creator) and *U Blei Shihajar nguh* (God the Overlord) as well as by the 'prayers of priests' offered to God on occasions of thanksgiving ceremonies, the priests recognising God as 'the Preserver of the clan' and 'the Giver of

covenant and religion'. A Khasi saying *Tang U Blei Uba lat Tang U Blei Uba tip* meaning 'only God is able and only God knows' conveys a message which is but another name of monotheism.*

V

As is well known, Christianity possesses an unquestioned pre-eminence in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and this has been due to the sincere and persistent efforts of selfless preachers, particularly those of the Welsh Mission. Brahmos could never compete with Christians in converting the local people to their faith. The increasing flexibility of Hinduism virtually narrowing down the differences between it and Brahmo Theism also weakened the latter and hampered its progress among the uninitiated. Besides the handful of members of the Khasi Mission and a few enthusiastic individuals like Prasanna Kumar Majumdar Sastri, the Brahmo Church (in a broad sense) is not known to have undertaken any intensive missionary programme like the Christian missionaries. And from the early years of the thirties, the Khasis and the Garos in particular were also gradually evincing an interest in Hinduism. Nevertheless, the fact that Brahmoism once found favour with the Khasis is an interesting and significant event in the socio-religious history of Meghalaya, or for that matter, of India. Though for some reason or other, this significant fact does not find mention in any authoritative work relating to the history and culture of the region, we fervently hope that in future more materials on this issue will be brought to light by scholars, particularly by those among whose predecessors Brahmoism once earned popularity, howsoever modest in scale.

* Hamlet Bareh, *History and Culture of the Khasi People*, p. 376.

Ancient Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH : ANCIENT PERIOD

4 • Uttar Pradesh

Dr. P. P. Vats

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When we think of the history of Uttar Pradesh we are faced with a question whether we can define this geographical area as a unit so far as the history of its area is concerned. Now the largest state of the Indian Union, Uttar Pradesh in its full existence period was created by the British and was called the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh. In other words the portions of Agra and Awadh were combined together to create an administrative unit. However, in spite of a century or more Uttar Pradesh has developed as a cultural and political unit and as such it has a history of its own.

Theoretically speaking, the vast area of Uttar Pradesh had different centres of gravitation at different times. During the early historical period, i.e., in the time of Harappa, the Indus and Saraswati were vying for supremacy, but with the intervention of Magadha both had to surrender to the Magadha domination. On the other hand, Vatsa, or the Allahabad region, was more in confrontation with Avanti, though the king of Vatsa, Udayana, had also married Padmavati, the daughter of Magadha king, Garasya. In the Mauryan period the centre of gravity was in Magadha and the history of Uttar Pradesh was almost related to that of Magadha. On the disintegration of the Mauryan empire the Sungas took over the charge of the falling empire and probably one of their capitals was also at Ayodhya. Very soon Uttar Pradesh was divided into several local states and the Kushanas extended their empire at least up to Banarus. The temporary capital of the Kushanas was Mathura in the western Uttar

Ancient Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH : ANCIENT PERIOD

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WHEN WE think of the history of Uttar Pradesh we are faced with a question whether we can define this geographical term as a unit so far as the history of its ancient period is concerned. Now the largest state of the Indian Union, Uttar Pradesh in pre-independence period was created by the British and was called the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh. In other words the provinces of Agra and Awadh were combined together to create an administrative unit. However, in course of a century or more Uttar Pradesh has developed as a cultural and political unit and as such it has a history of its own.

Historically speaking, the vast area of Uttar Pradesh had different centres of gravitation at different times. During the early historical period, i.e., in the time of Buddha, we find Kasi and Kosala vying for supremacy, but with the intervention of Magadha both had to surrender to the Magadhan imperialism. On the other hand, Vatsa, or the Allahabad region, was more in confrontation with Avanti, though the king of Vatsa, Udayana, had also married Padmavati, the daughter of Magadhan king Darsaka. In the Mauryan period the centre of gravity was in Magadha and the history of Uttar Pradesh was almost related to that of Magadha. On the disintegration of the Mauryan empire the Sungas took over the charge of the falling empire and probably one of their capitals was also at Ayodhya. Very soon Uttar Pradesh was divided into several local states until the Kushanas extended their empire at least up to Banaras. The secondary capital of the Kushanas was Mathura in the western Uttar

Pradesh (sometimes shortened as U.P.). Soon after the death of Kanishka I, the Kushanas were driven out and the Maghas were powerful with their centre at Kausambi near Allahabad.

The rise of the Guptas again shifted the gravity of the political power to the eastern Uttar Pradesh for a short while. The provenance of the epigraphic and numismatic material of the early Gupta Kings¹ indicates that their original home was somewhere in eastern U.P. and perhaps it was at a later stage that they shifted their capital to Pataliputra in Magadha.

After the disintegration of the Gupta empire the Maukharis became prominent in Uttar Pradesh with their capital at Kanauja. Harsha also preferred to rule from Kanauja rather than from his paternal seat at Thanesvar. Kanauja remained the centre of imperialism in northern India till the end of the twelfth century when the Muslims conquered the Ganga-Yamuna Valley. During these centuries the Pratiharas, the Chandra-treyas, the Palas and some other dynasties also had their claim on the history of Uttar Pradesh and their political influence spread much beyond the boundaries of Uttar Pradesh.

These preliminary remarks about the history of the area would thus show that though strictly speaking it hardly formed an invariable political unit in ancient period, an attempt may be made to write a connected narrative of Uttar Pradesh in terms of the ancient period.

The sources of the history of Uttar Pradesh are somewhat similar to those of Indian history. The nature of the sources of the ancient period is, however, different from that of the sources of the medieval and modern periods. Though history may mean "both the past events and their records",² it is not necessary that all the events of the past are recorded and also that all such records are written documents. While talking about the history of the ancient period, obviously including that of U.P., it is to be borne in mind that most of the events of the past leave some trace in one form or other and that some of them are buried in the bosom of the earth and some in the minds of the people.

Literary Sources

Ancient Indians have not unoften been criticised for their lack of a sense of history³ and their neglecting the chronology whenever writing about the past. But this criticism is itself uncritical in view of the fact that the notion about history has been changing from time to time and that the ancient Indian historian had a view of history different from ours. The advocates of this view did not see history as recorded events in a chronological order. For them history was a storehouse of past events in the form of stories from which the kings should be taught about how the great men and kings of the past behaved towards the *Dharma* and the Brahmanas. In fact, the listening of history was one of the favourite pastimes of kings in ancient India. It is perhaps in or about the Gupta period that chronology consciousness developed and gained popularity, and attempts were made to record the reign periods of the past kings in the Puranas. But by that time it had become too late. They could reckon, with a certain degree of reliability, only about a thousand years back. The events before that seem to have been confused and commingled and appear more to be mythology than history. Some recent historians have called this the traditional history.

The history of ancient Uttar Pradesh starts with the traditional history of the Aryans which is mostly preserved in the Vedic and post-Vedic literature, the Epics and the Puranas. This ancient literature of the Aryans never speaks about their coming from any other place outside India. When the curtain of history rises we find the Aryans busy with their normal life in the plains of northern India. While the Rigvedic Aryans knew only of the Punjab and to some extent the Ganga-Yamuna valley, the Aryans of the post-Rigvedic period spread further towards east, operating in an area called the Madhyadesa (*dhruva Madhyama pratishtha djs*) and largely included in what is now known as Uttar Pradesh.

The traditional history, as revealed from the Puranic and Epic literature, speaks about Vaivasvata Manu who survived the great flood sometime about 3102 B.C.⁴ Manu had nine sons,

besides the eldest who is represented to have had a dual personality as male Ilā and female Ilā. There seems a great divergence about the names of the nine sons of Manu, but it is certain that they occupied almost the whole of northern India including Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, etc. His sons are responsible for the famous Solar dynasty, of which four were more known in history. The eldest Ikshvaku, with his capital at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh, was the most famous among them all. Manu's daughter Ilā, as a female, was married to Budha, from whom was born Pururavas, the originator of the Aila or Lunar dynasty at Pratishtana, again in Uttar Pradesh, near Allahabad. Thus both the Solar and Lunar dynasties originated and flourished in and from Uttar Pradesh. Therefore we are not unjustified if we refer to these sources for the history of Uttar Pradesh.

The sources of the traditional history from the earliest time to the accession of Parikshita, at the end of the Mahabharata war, are mainly the Puranas, though the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* also give some dynastic lists and deal with the traditional accounts. The Puranic accounts have come from the royal genealogies and ancient ballads of kings and heroes from the Suta tradition,⁵ the duty of the *Suta* being the preservation of the genealogies of gods, *rishis*, and most glorious kings, and the tradition of great men.⁶ Perhaps, the basis of the Puranic tradition came from these *Sutas*. However, the Puranas which enlist the kings up to the third-fourth centuries of the Christian era refer to a few kings and potentates who may be said to have ruled in Uttar Pradesh in the pre-Gupta period. For the Gupta age we do not get texts like the Puranas which could provide even bare lists. We are, however, fortunate in getting epigraphic records which have supplied us with materials pertaining to Uttar Pradesh during this period. Among the literary sources of the history of Uttar Pradesh of the post-Gupta period the well-known works like the *Harsha-Charita* abruptly ends. Although this is true from the historians' viewpoint, the poet achieves the aim of his narration at the meeting of Harsha and Rajyasri (in other words, goddess of the kingdom ; here it is

noteworthy that at this point the hero achieves Rajyasri of Kanauja also). The *Gaudavaho* is a poetic narration of the life of Yasovarman, the king of Kanauja. We have no other sources to know about this king except this work of Vakpati.

Thus though a number of literary texts for the reconstruction of the history of Uttar Pradesh can be mentioned, few of them are worthwhile as works of real history. Indeed, Uttar Pradesh never produced a Kalhana or a historian of the genre of Herodotus or Thucydides.

Archaeological Sources

Had we been left to the literary sources alone our knowledge of the history of Uttar Pradesh, like that of other parts of India, would have remained inadequate and incomplete. Thanks to the archaeological sources we are in a better position, particularly from the Gupta period onwards. Inscriptions, coins, monuments and excavated materials are generally included in the archaeological source.

Inscriptions are regarded as the most important source because they supply most valuable information regarding the kings and dynasties about whom we have otherwise no knowledge. The credit to start the tradition of leaving epigraphs on durable material like stone goes to the Mauryan king Asoka. Perhaps, motivated with the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors of Persia, Asoka caused a large number of edicts engraved on rocks, slabs and pillars throughout his vast empire, from Afganistan in the west to Mysore in the South. Sarnath, Kausambi, Kalsi, etc., are the places in U.P. where his edicts have been found. After the disintegration of the Mauryan empire the Mathura Kshatrapas and the Kushanas ruled over parts of Uttar Pradesh. It is through his inscriptions that we know that Kanishka's empire spread in the east at least up to Sarnath and Sravasti. The movement of engraving inscriptions gathered momentum among the kings and individuals during the few centuries after Christ. Mathura, Kausambi, Ayodhya, Sravasti and Ahichhattra were important centres in U.P. where epigraphs have been found before the rise of the Guptas ; and they

provide very valuable items of information. During the Gupta period inscriptions became the most important source of history. The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, engraved on a pillar of Asoka, is most famous among the *prasastis* (eulogies), because it describes in great detail the personal qualities and military achievements of this great Gupta emperor. This forms the chief document of his memorable reign. It is mainly on the basis of their inscriptions that the age of the Guptas is regarded as the Golden Age of Indian history. The findspots of the inscriptions and coin-hoards of the early Gupta kings have led scholars like S. R. Goyal to suggest that their original home was somewhere in Uttar Pradesh.⁷ The palaeographic evidence also supports this suggestion. According to A. H. Dani, the Kausambi style of writing spread all over northern India during the Gupta period.⁸

The Maukharis of Kanauja have also left their inscriptions, and Harshavardhana also did not lag behind. After that Kanauja became the most coveted seat, and the Palas, the Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas fought for generations for the place. Lastly, the Gahadavalas issued their land-grants from Varanasi with an alternative capital at Kanauja.

The epigraphic material has its advantages. It is engraved on durable material like stone or metal and therefore it cannot be easily tampered with as in the case of manuscripts. Being contemporary records their authenticity cannot be challenged. Very often these are dated in some era, and whenever they do not bear a date their approximate age can be ascertained on the basis of the script used in them.

Though most of the official documents are proclamations of sale or gifts of land, they very often contain royal genealogies. The Gupta inscriptions very often start with a set formula of genealogy beginning from Samudragupta and ending with the reigning monarch. Though they start from Samudragupta, three generations before him are also mentioned by them. The Gahadavalas in their copperplates also have set genealogy and the same verses about the predecessors have been repeated. It has been suggested that "sometimes the portion was independently engraved on copperplates and these were kept ready in the office,

so that when, occasion arose, only the details of the grant had to be added to make them formal charters".⁹

Often with the provenance of an inscription it is supposed that the area was under that king or dynasty. But it is not always correct. An interesting example comes from the Gahadavala inscription with usual verses up to Chandradeva's reign which has been found engraved in the South at Ganaikonda Cholapuram, the ancient Chola capital, beside the inscription of Kulottunga.¹⁰ The exact significance of this inscription is not known, but it has been suggested that "some sort of relationship or connection existed between the Gahadavalas of Kanyakubja and the Colas of Tanjore".¹¹ However, no political influence on either side can be claimed, but R. S. Tripathi's suggestion¹¹ of "a friendly visit by a Gahadavala prince to the distant south" may be probable.

But there are certain limitations of epigraphic materials. Firstly, the purpose of these is not to provide historical data to the historians. They were primarily meant for registering the gifts of land, etc. But usually they contained some brilliant achievements of the donor and his predecessors. Generally these eulogies have nothing to do with the purpose of the charters. Considering the limited space in the copperplates or stone (though very long inscriptions have been found in South India), it was always not possible to give a very detailed account of the past achievements of the donor. Therefore whatever has come to us in these records was by the way. We should not expect much from these.

Elements of exaggeration and poetic imagination are also present in such *prasastis*. This probably could not have been avoided because the authors of these were the poets who enjoyed royal patronage and "were reluctant to take notice of the defeat and discomfiture of their patrons and their ancestors." Also they were more eager "to display their skill in rhetoric rather than in accuracy of their statement".¹² Thus one should be cautious in using these material for the reconstruction of history.

Coins* form the next important source for the history of

* For a discussion on the coins as a source of ancient history of Uttar Pradesh (200 B.C.-300 A.D.), see K. K. Dasgupta's article in this volume. Editor.

Uttar Pradesh. The earliest indigenous coins, designated as 'Punch-marked' coins, were struck in silver and copper with symbols punched on them. They are uninscribed and have been found throughout the country, and on account of their widespread provenance it has been suggested that probably they belonged to the time of the Mauryas. As many as 37 hoards of such punch-marked coins have been discovered at different places of Uttar Pradesh.¹³

After the disintegration of the Mauryan empire local powers began to come into prominence. In the north-west the Bactrian Greeks were constantly knocking at the doors and when the central power weakened they started penetrating deep into the country. They brought with them the practice of writing names of the issuers on the coins, a thing hitherto unknown in India. Although U.P. did not feel much of their pressure, the idea of putting names on coins was readily accepted by the local powers.

After the Mauryas and the Sungas many minor monarchies sprang up in northern India and Uttar Pradesh also had its share in this. The Surasenas in Mathura region and the Panchalas in Ahichchatra (Ramnagar in Bareilly district) are known through their coins only. Similarly in Kausambi and Ayodhya also a series of kings are known by their coins only.

The Mathura coins reveal that perhaps Gomitra was the first in the series. He was followed by Suryamitra, Brahmamitra, Dridhamitra and Vishnumitra. The coins of these kings include the figure of standing Lakshmi along with symbols found on punch-marked coins beside the legend containing the name of the king. Other series of the kings are *datta*-ending ones : Seshadatta, Purushadatta, Uttamdatta, Ramadatta, Kamadatta and Bhavadatta. Two more names Balabhuti and Apalata are also known. All these kings, except Apalata, bear the title of *raja* only, while the latter claims to be a *maharaja*. In the absence of any other evidence it is not possible to ascertain the chronological order of these kings. An attempt to class them according to their endings is objectionable, because before the time of the Guptas few dynasties had regular name-endings. However, these indigenous kings seem to have been supplanted by a foreign dynasty. Rajuvula, originally a ruler of the Punjab, is the

first among them. He issued highly debased silver hemidrachms closely resembling the issues of Indo-Greek rulers Strato I and Strato II: His another type is also known with a lion on the obverse and Heracles on the reverse with Greek and Kharoshthi legends. In Mathura he issued 'standing Lakshmi on the obverse and Abhisheka Lakshmi on the reverse' type coins. Rajuvula was followed by his two sons, Sodasa and Toranadasa. After them, Hagana and Hagamasha ruled jointly; thereafter Hagamasha ruled alone. They were followed by Sivadatta and Sivaghosha.

In the Panchala region we find copper coins in a uniform series. There are no less than twenty rulers, some with *gupta*-ending names and others with *pala*- and *mitra*-ending names. On all these coins there are three small symbols in a row and the name of the issuer below it. On the other side the figure of some god or goddess associated with the name of the issuer is found. Perhaps, the last Panchala king was one who issued coins with the name *Achyu* on one side and wheel on the other. He has been identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

In the Kausambi region, kings issued coins with a bull and a symbol on one side and tree-in-railing with another symbol with the name of the king on the other. This coin type belongs to more than eighteen rulers. Shortly another line of kings with *magha*-ending names appeared. They have some inscriptions also to their credit. Lastly, we get another type of coins with the legend *Rudra* on one side and Siva-with-bull on the other. This Rudra has been identified with the Rudradeva of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta.

Similarly the kings of Kosala also issued their own series of coins. They first started with cast coins. On these coins the obverse bears bull or elephant and on the reverse five or six symbols of the punch-marked type. These have been classified into *deva*-ending and *datta*-ending names. Sivadatta is the king who issued cast as well as die-struck coins. May be these two were different persons. He was followed by at least six kings.

Here it should be noted that mostly these kings of Uttar Pradesh flourished between the Sungas and the Guptas and we have no other source which could inform us about these kings.

In the middle of the fourth century the middle-Ganga valley emerged under the dominance of the imperial Guptas who issued a large number of coins in a variety of types in gold, silver and copper. The Gupta coinage marks the peak of Indian numismatics. Thereafter the period of decline begins.

During six centuries after the fall of the Gupta empire gold coins became extremely rare, silver and even copper coins were issued in lesser numbers than before. Neither the continuity of the currency is seen nor uniformity is observed. The coins had lost the glory and magnificence of the Gupta period.

In Uttar Pradesh in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. the Maukharis of Kanauja and Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauja issued their coins in debased gold. Among the Maukharis Isanavarman (550-76), Sarvavarman (576-80) and Avantivarman (580-600) are known to have issued gold coins. Pratapasila (Prabhakarvardhana) and Siladitya (Harshavardhana) issued their coins. These follow the eastern peacock type of Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta.

After that again there was a gap. About the second half of the ninth century A.D. the Shahis of Kabul issued their coinage. Among these Samantadeva seems to be the most important, because the types issued by him were imitated by other dynasties even after his death. His bull and horseman type of coins were issued by the Tomaras of Delhi, Chauhanas and Gahadavalas, etc. They even retained the name of the king Samantadeva with some prefix on one side beside their own on the other. The mystery of these prefixes has never been solved. Madanapala of the Gahadavala dynasty (1080-1114) issued this type of coin with the legend *Mahadeva Sri Samantadeva*. His son Govindachandradeva (1114-1154 A.D.) issued debased gold coins imitating the coins of Gangeyadeva of the Kalachuri dynasty. They issued copper coins also. Anyway this period is not rich in numismatic evidence.

Other Archaeological Sources

Being situated on the main route of the Muslim invaders Uttar Pradesh is not fortunate in retaining its monuments. Ex-

cavations also have not been carried out on many sites. The Uttar Pradesh Government has recently established a Department of Archaeology which is doing good work; but so far not much has been published. Some Universities and Archaeological Survey of India are doing digging work. Ancient sites of Varanasi, Ayodhya, Kausambi, Sravasti and Ahichchatra have been excavated and some of the reports on these sites have been published. These are of immense help for the historians of ancient Uttar Pradesh.

Other Accounts

The accounts of the foreign travellers and writers like Alberuni, Hiuen Tsang, It-Sing also provide valuable material for the history of U.P. Their worth need not be proved. Besides these, the *District Gazetteers* and *Imperial Gazetteers* of India, Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports* also should not be forgotten. During the hundred years or more several periodicals and magazines have been and are being published with plenty of materials which can be examined critically for writing a history. In this respect we must share the views of Kalhana, the greatest of ancient historians of India, "That virtuous poet alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, ever restricts his language to the exposition of facts".¹⁴

REFERENCES

- ¹ Cf. S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Chapter II.
- ² V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, p. 30.
- ³ Cf. Fleet in *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 5 where he observes, "It is indeed very questionable whether the ancient Hindus ever possessed the true historical sense in the shape of the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines". Many other historians share this view of Fleet.
- ⁴ *History and Culture of the Indian People*, I, 'The Vedic Age', p. 273.
- ⁵ V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, p. 17.
- ⁶ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 15.

- ⁷ S. R. Goyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.
- ⁸ A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 109.
- ⁹ *The Vedic Age*, p. 55.
- ¹⁰ *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1907-08, p. 228.
- ¹¹ *History of Kanauja*, p. 313.
- ¹² D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 27.
- ¹³ P. L. Gupta, *A Bibliography of Punch-Marked Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 4-9.
- ¹⁴ *Rajatarangini*, 1, 7.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH (ANCIENT PERIOD)

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THE ANCIENT history of Uttar Pradesh, like that of many other oriental countries, is shrouded in mystery. The sources of the early history of this state are not only meagre and confused but rather replete with traditional, mythological and legendary accounts which sometimes contain conflicting and contradictory statements. And thus we are beset with baffling problems while attempting to draw a demarcation line between facts and fictions, and historical and quasi-historical materials. The difficulty is enhanced by the absence of a definite chronology. However, these difficulties and problems may be largely overcome if we study our material with the spirit of a Judge.¹

The sources may be arranged in the following order :

- (1) Literary and traditional accounts ; (2) Foreign accounts ;
- (3) Archaeological materials ; and (4) Contemporary chronicles or Literary texts.

(1) *Literary and Traditional Accounts*

The antiquity of Uttar Pradesh can only be determined by looking into ancient texts handed down to us from time immemorial together with the traditions chiefly recorded therein. In the first place the *Satapatha Brahmana*, most important Brahmanical literature belonging to the later Vedic age, deserves mention because it furnishes both the historical and cultural data relating to the early kings, their kingdoms, dynasties, etc., of the state. Another important source is provided by the famous Sanskrit Epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The

Ramayana copiously deals with different aspects of the different parts of ancient Uttar Pradesh. The 'Ayodhya Kanda' (LIV, XC, CXV, L, LV, LXXXIII, CXXVII, XXXII, LXVIII, XVI), 'Balakanda' or 'Adikanda' (XXXIV, LXIX, LXVIII, XXXII, VII, V, VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI) and 'Kishkindhya Kanda' throw a good deal of light on the ancient kingdom of Ayodhya, capital of Kosala or Uttar Kosala, a prosperous and well-built city ruled by the clan of Ikshvakus, the relations of the rulers with other contemporary powers, exchange of cultural teams between Ayodhya and Mithila, cultural fellowship between the Ayodhya rulers and non-Aryan or Nishada chiefs, development of art and architecture, literary and cultural activities of the women of Ayodhya, social customs, religious rites and rituals and so on. Information is also obtained from this epic about Kausambi (founded by Kusamba), Prayaga and Kasi along with their boundaries and their ancient rulers. It is to be noted here that the statements recorded in the *Ramayana* should be judged with great caution and they require further confirmation and corroboration from other works either of early or late origin. No less important is the *Mahabharata*. The 'Sabha Parva'² of this epic mentions about Bhimsena's conquest of Ayodhya and Kasi, the defeat of Kasiraja at the hands of Raja Kumaradesha, Parasurama's attacks on Kasi and Kosala, ancient city of Dwarikapuri and its buildings and gateways, etc. 'Vana-Parva'³ also mentions Ayodhya and Prayaga, and 'Bhisma-Parva'⁴ refers to the ancient kingdom of Kasi. 'Udyog Parva'⁵ gives a brief description of Raja Divodasa, the ruler of Kasi.

Equally important are the Puranas compiled roughly between 200 B.C. and 600 A.D. Out of the 18 Maha Puranas, the *Vayu-Purana*,⁶ *Skanda-Purana*,⁷ *Brahma-Purana*,⁸ *Vishnu-Purana*,⁹ *Markandeya Purana*,¹⁰ *Brahmanda*,¹¹ *Matsya*,¹² *Bhavishya*,¹³ *Linga*,¹⁴ *Bhagavata*,¹⁵ *Agni*,¹⁶ and *Harivamsa*¹⁷ Puranas provide an elaborate account of genealogies of royal dynasties and supply most reliable information about the ancient kingdom of Ayodhya and its ruler Ikshvaku of the Solar race and his descendants, Pratisthana or Prayaga ruled by Aila or Aryan race, Kasi and its rulers of Lunar race 1366 years before the Christian era and their

dynasty and Kausambi ruled by Kuru King Nichaksu, fifth in descent from Parikshit. The Pauranic accounts also help us to know about the glorious rule of Divodasa, his conquests of other countries, his republican system of government, socio-cultural conditions, educational progress, religious conditions and role of women in the field of artistic and cultural development in ancient Kasi. We also get information about the victory of Kasi Naresh of Kasya dynasty over Raja Alarka (son of Ritidhwaja and Madalasa, Rani of Gandharva) and his attack on frontier states, conquest of Ayodhya by foreign tribes and their settlement, the struggle of Ayodhya rulers with the Talajangha-Haihayas and other important chiefs.

Notwithstanding the fact that some of the Puranic accounts are intermixed with myths and legends and are full of interpolations, they are worthy of credence especially about royal genealogies, ancient kings, kingdoms and dynasties. "They form sheet anchors in the troubled sea of Indian Chronology." Yet their credibility must be tested and corroborated by other contemporary and collateral evidences and the combined testimony is sure to yield better results.

The next important sources are the works of Panini and Patanjali, Smriti texts and some other semi-historical works. Panini (IV.I.171) mentions Kasi, and Patanjali refers to Saketa and the attack on it by the Yavanas.¹⁸ The last-mentioned statement may be corroborated by the evidence recorded in 'Yuga Purana' section of the *Gargi Samhita*.¹⁹ The Greek raid upon Saketa has been mentioned in many standard historical works during the last year of the reign of Pushyamitra, about 150 B.C.

The *Brihatsamhita* of Varahamihira ascribed to about the sixth century A.D. refers to Saketa, Mathuraka and Surasenas belonging to Madhyadesa.²⁰ In the *Manusmriti* Surasena (Mathura) has been referred to as Brahmarshi-desa.²¹ The *Atharva Parisista*²² also mentions Saketa and Mathura in the North and the *Saktisangama Tantra* refers to the genealogies of the early rulers of Ayodhya and their descendants, rivalry between Kasi and Ayodhya, and the history of Gorakhpur.²³

Light on the early history of Uttar Pradesh is also thrown by the dramas, plays, poems, court-epics and other literatures of great historical value. The *Meghaduta* and the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa, relatively free from the laxity of the Puranas and extravagant overtones of the late poems, give brief but graphic descriptions of Ayodhya and Kausambi. The *Meghaduta*²⁴ very clearly mentions about ancient Kausambi, the modern Kosam, as capital of the Vatsa country ruled by Udayana, a prince of the Lunar race and son of Sahasranika, also called as Vatsa Raja. The *Raghuvamsa*²⁵ refers to Saketa of Ayodhya. *Vikramorvashi* (III, 15) by the same author also mentions about the independent kingdom of Kasi.²⁶

The *Brihatkathamajari* of Kshemendra (1020-40), a Sanskrit rendering of Gunadhyā's Prakrit work *Brihatkatha*, and the *Kathasaritasagara* (Tarangas 11-16) by Somadeva (1063-81) also refer to Udayana, a prince of Kausambi.²⁷ It has also been referred to by Bhasa in his play *Svapnavasavadatta* which throws light on the matrimonial and cultural relations between king Udayana of Kausambi and Anga and Magadha.

The *Ratnavali* of Harsha and *Lalitavistara* are also very valuable sources for confirming the statements of Kalidasa and other writers about Udayana, king of Kausambi with its capital Vatsapattana.²⁸ The *Sankhyayana Srautasutra* also transmits information about the kings of Kasi.²⁹

Some of the Buddhist texts, like the *Mahavagga* and the *Jatakas*, and sacred texts of the Jainas are also valuable mines of information for our purpose. Several Jatakas like the *Guttila Jataka*, *Sambhava Jataka*, *Sarabha-Miga Jataka*, *Bhaddasala Jataka*, *Dhonasakha Jataka*, *Kosamba Jataka*, *Kunala Jataka*, *Assaka Jataka*, and *Sona-Nanda Jataka* and the *Mahavagga* mention especially about the rivalry between Kasi, Kosala, Anga and Magadha, the prosperous city of Kasi, the revival of Brahmanical culture and annexation of the kingdom of Kosala by the king of Kasi. Rhys Davids also refers to Saketa and Ayodhya as two adjoining cities like London and Westminster.³⁰ He further mentions that Kasi was incorporated in Kosala.³¹ Another Buddhist book—Historic etc., Bouddhisme dans l'Inde par H.

Kern, Trans. G. Huel, p. 23³²—is also an important source for getting the relevant information about the ancient kingdoms of Saketa, Kausambi, Kasi, etc.

The tradition recorded by Montgomery Martin in his *Survey Report*³³ also helps us to know about the facts that Kasi-rajā was attacked and expelled by a class of people called Gurkha (Siviras), which is further confirmed by a small quadrangle pyramid attributed to Siviraja near Banaras, and that the Cheros attacked and destroyed the kingdom of the Solar race in Ayodhya. In the absence of corroborative evidence it is not possible to accept this tradition with certainty.

(2) Foreign Accounts

(a) Travels of Chinese Pilgrims : The accounts left behind by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa-hien³⁴ (339-414) and Hiuen-Tsang³⁵ (635-637), serve as a treasure house of satisfactory and elaborate information about different aspects of history. These accounts throw a good deal of light on the ancient kingdoms like Mathura (*Mo-tu-lo*), Ayodhya (*Q-yu-to*) or modern Ayodhya near Faizabad, Prayag-Kasi (*Po-lo-ni-se*), Kausambi (*Kiau-shang-mi*), Sankasya (*Sen-ka-she*), *A-ye-mu-ka* or country probably corresponding to Pratapgarh and Rae-Bareilly district, as well as on their contemporary, socio-political and religious life, cultural and literary progress, administrative systems, prevalent customs, monuments and other remains.³⁶

(b) Classical Accounts : The writings of the Greeks also furnish a good deal of information about different parts of ancient U.P. Of them Ptolemy refers to Kassida or Kassidia corresponding to Kasi. He describes Modera (Mathura) as 'the city of gods'. Besides Ptolemy, Magasthenes, Arrian and Pliny also mention about Modoura or Methora as the capital of Saurasenoi.³⁷

(c) Persian Chronicles : Some Persian chronicles like *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl (translated by Gladwin, 1800, London, giving the name *Ayeem Akbari*) and *Jamiu-t-Tawarikh*

u-ddin also refer to the old city of Ayodhya, religious at Prayag, Varanasi, etc., which help us in getting a to the age-old Indian traditions.

Archaeological Evidence

Inscriptions : Epigraphic records are indisputably the important source for getting the nearly accurate knowledge of the stages of long-forgotten past. Inscriptions are of many kinds in the present context they include, *inter alia*, the inscription taken from the gateway of the fort of Khara dated 1092 (A.D. 1035),³⁸ an inscribed brick found at Mora, 12 miles west of Mathura, the Pabhosa inscription,³⁹ the inscription of the stone pillar of Asoka⁴⁰ set up about B.C. 235 at Mathura and an inscribed pillar found at Mathura (famed as the Lion capital inscription),⁴¹ a Kosam inscription of 375 A.D. and an inscription of the Kushana monarch found at Mathura⁴², which help us to ascertain the antiquity of the city and names of their rulers, their military activities, and their relations, etc.

Coins* : Coins hailing from U.P. may be broadly divided into the following groups : (i) Kausambi coins, (ii) Mathura coins, (iii) Ayodhya coins, (iv) Baran (Bulandshahr) coins, (v) Almora coins, and (vi) Coins of Panchala (Bareilly, etc.). The large cast coins of Kausambi or Vatsa-Pattana (the ancient city in the Allahabad district) of a period between the third century B.C. and the first century B.C. bear the names of the number of ancient rulers.⁴³ The ancient cast coins found in the neighbourhood of Mathura bearing the inscription and the names of the Satraps of Mathura bring to light some Hindu rulers of Mathura who ruled from the third century B.C. to the end of the first century B.C., and Saka rulers bearing the names of the Satrapa probably of the second half of the first century B.C. The oldest cast coins and the square inscribed cast pieces

* The importance of coins as a source of ancient history of U.P. is discussed in Dr. Dasgupta's article in this volume, *infra*. Editor.

Ayodhya belonging to the second century B.C. clearly show rulers of two different dynasties ruled here.⁴⁵ According to C. Sircar, the second class coins "belong to later groups of rulers flourished at the end of the Kushan Period in the Eastern India."⁴⁶ The coins of Baran (ancient name of Bulandshahr) bearing the legend *Gomitasa Baranaya* is also important to ascertain the name of an ancient ruler.⁴⁷ The three specimens appearing to be of some alloy of silver and heavier than any other Kushan coins found near Almora, probably of a date between the first century and the second century A.D., provide the names of ancient rulers.⁴⁸ The Panchala coins of the second century B.C. throw the connection between its rulers and the dynasty ruling in the south of Allahabad and help us to know the history of Bareilly district and the kingdom of Ahichchatra.⁴⁹

(c) Ancient Remains or Monuments : Uttar Pradesh is rich in old remains. They include, *inter alia*, the old ruined town between Hardwar and Kankhal called Mayapur; the old fort of Raja Ben covered with broken bricks and ruined mound and kiln; the fort of Sita Ramji of Saron between Bareilly and Mathura; the old fort of Raja Kans, remains of extensive buildings, a number of statues and Buddhist monasteries in Mathura area; the ruined mounds of Kakupur, twenty miles to the north-west of Kanpur, of more than 1000 years ago; the remains of the temple at Prayag situated inside the fort of Allahabad; Cave stupas and the remains of Kausambi, modern Kosam; ruins of Ayodhya; the extensive mass of ruins of more than 2000 years old at Baranasi; the remains at Gazipur; ruins of the old fort of Sankisa or Angkasya of the *Ramayana*; monuments in Gorakhpur; and various other Hindu Temples, cult-images of deities, Buddhist and Jaina Stupas, Chaityas and other statues, carved pillars and other monuments of architectural pattern in the vicinity of Mathura, especially the temple railings, pillars, toranas, apsidal temple of the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries, seals and coins of both Mauryan and Kushana periods unearthed as a result of recent archaeological excavation at Sonkh, near Mathura, undertaken by a team of archaeologists from Berlin University under the stewardship of H. Haertal, and some other pieces of

art from Ayodhya, Varanasi and other places.⁵⁰ They bear witness to the artistic and cultural progress of a very high order, right from the first century A.D. to the twelfth century A.D. in an unbroken order, and testify to the co-existence of three principal religions—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism—and their generally amicable relations.

The aforesaid sources have proved to be of substantial help in reconstructing the history of ancient U.P., dealing with social, political, religious, cultural and other aspects of the early people of the region.

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- ² 'The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe' nos. 453, 543, quoted in V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 4.
- ³ 'Digvijaya Parva', Ch. 30, vv. 2, 6 ; Ch. 38.
- ⁴ Ch. 85.
- ⁵ Ch. 9.
- ⁶ Ch. 117.
- ⁷ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Ch. VII, pp. 85, 89, 101.
- ⁸ 'Purvardha Khanda' (Kasi Khanda), pp. 79-80.
- ⁹ Pt. 36, Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 90, 101.
- ¹⁰ Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 288-89, 305-07, 325-29.
- ¹¹ Pt. 16 and 20.
- ¹² III, 48, 29-47, cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
- ¹³ 12-57, cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
- ¹⁴ 88-213, cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
- ¹⁵ 1, 56, 66, 43, cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 89.
- ¹⁶ 15-17 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 89, 90, 101.
- ¹⁷ B. N. Puri, *India in the time of Patanjali*, p. 75.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

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- ²² Ed. by G. M. Bolling and J. Von Negele. Also H. C. Chakladar, *The Geography of Kalidasa*, pp. 34-35.
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- ²⁵ XIII-61, XIII-79, XIV. 29, XV. 60, XVI. 13, XVII. 36 ; also cf. H. C. Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- ²⁶ H. C. Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ²⁷ Cf. *Meghaduta*, v. 31, p. 57.
- ²⁸ Vide A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 331.
- ²⁹ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 153-54.
- ³⁰ *Buddhist India*, p. 39.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ³² H. C. Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- ³³ *Eastern India*, II, pp. 341-71.
- ³⁴ James Legge, *The Travels of Fa-hien or A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, pp. 42-60.
- ³⁵ Shaman Hwui Li and Samuel Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsian*, Book II, Chap. III, pp. 77, 79, 85, 90, 91 ; Book III, pp. 98-99. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, pp. 312-13, 332, 335, 361, 366.
- ³⁶ For proper identifications of the names and places Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* has been helpful for our purpose. See, for instance, pp. 293, 295-96, 315, 370.
- ³⁷ For Ptolemy's Geography, see *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Eng. trans. J. W. McCrindle) ; for Megasthenes and Arrian, see *The Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, also by J. W. McCrindle. R. C. Majumdar has compiled the classical accounts bearing on Indian History and Culture in his *Classical Accounts of India*.
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- ⁴⁰ A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
- ⁴¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 141 ff and Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, pp. 48 ff. Also B. N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
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- ⁴³ For these coins, see J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, Ancient India.
- ⁴⁴ Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 8-9, 13 ; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient*

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- ⁴⁵ Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 44. (Pl. IV, 2, 3, 4).
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- ⁴⁷ Rapson, *op. cit.*, 45, p. 11.
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SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH

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THE PRESENT DAY State of Uttar Pradesh did not enjoy political and administrative unity before the dawn of the modern period, excepting for the period when the all-India Empires of the Mauryas, Kushanas, Guptas, Khaljis and Tughluks and the Mughals were on the political stage of the country. During most of the ancient period it was divided into numerous principalities ruled by different dynasties. Its broad regional divisions—eastern (Gorakhpur, Varanasi and Allahabad Divisions), central (Kanpur district and Lucknow and eastern part of the Bareilly Division), western (western districts of the Bareilly Division and whole of Agra and Meerut Division except Dehradun district), and northern or hill region (Dehradun district and the whole of Garhwal and Kumayun Divisions)—constituted independent political units and played different roles in the ancient history of the State. Whereas the political life of the eastern region was connected with those of Bengal and Bihar up to the end of the fifth century A.D., with the emergence of Kanyakubja (modern Kanauj in Farukhabad district) as the imperial city of northern India, it allied itself with the central region of U. P. The western region played its historical role in alliance with the Punjab and other western States. The northern region had nothing to do with either of these regions during most of its history and, along with the hill regions of Punjab (present day Himachal Pradesh), it had its independent sphere of political activity or whenever either Tibet or Nepal was strong, it became a part of their sphere of influence. It is only through

researches in the history of these regions that we can reconstruct a general history of ancient Uttar Pradesh.

Nature of the Source-material in General

We do not have any recorded history of Uttar Pradesh which may cover, if not the whole of the ancient period, at least a few centuries, like the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana which deals with Kashmir. We do not find a record of historical events of a decade even. As a result, we cannot depend on any particular type of source-material to reconstruct the ancient history of the State. We have to gather information from diverse sources—literary, epigraphic, numismatic, archaeological, and travelogues written by foreigners who visited India from time to time during the ancient period. Thus this source-material is varied and, though often complementary in nature, sometimes creates problems by presenting conflicting evidence.

Classification of Source-material

Since our object is to record social, economic, religious and cultural developments, apart from a political narrative, of Uttar Pradesh, we shall have to re-arrange and re-classify our source-material on a new pattern.

Instead of following the traditional classification of sources into literary and archaeological records, we would like to study them from a slightly different angle. In other words, they may be related to different facets of history, viz., political, socio-economic, religious and cultural, and this has been done in the present case as well.

A Critical Review of the Extent and Dependability of Source-material

1. Source-Material for Political History :

Puranas and the Epics are indispensable for a study of the political history of ancient Uttar Pradesh, particularly for its remote past. Puranas and the *Mahabharata* contain genealogies of the chief dynasties which ruled over the different kingdoms

situated in the State, viz., Kasi, Kosala, Panchala, Surasena and Kuru. These kingdoms are also mentioned in some *Brahmanas*, Buddhist *Nikayas* and Jaina *Bhagawatisutra*, which are relevant for the period from tenth to sixth century B.C.; and Buddhist and Jaina works also mention the names of the contemporary kings. Again, some rulers of these pre-historic dynasties are also mentioned in some of the *Upanisads*. The agreement among these works regarding these kingdoms and the dynasties ruling over them tends to prove their historical existence. The Puranas mention important events which occurred in the reign periods of some of these rulers. Thus we have a broad picture of the political divisions of the State from later Vedic period down to about fifth century B.C., the dynasties ruling over them along with friendly relations existing between them or otherwise and their varying fortunes, the lists of rulers of these dynasties and their *Rishis*. The Puranas bring down their dynastic lists up to 320 A.D. when Chandragupta I rose to imperial power, except that they have not mentioned the foreign ruling dynasties or non-imperial dynasties which ruled in the interregnum between the downfall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas. The dynasties which followed heterodox religions have either been slighted or ignored altogether.

The dependability of the Puranic accounts was once a matter of controversy among the historians. However, now all the historians of note agree that they contain genuine historical materials, which are to be gleaned after a careful scrutiny. Indeed, many such materials have been utilized for the reconstruction of our remote past.

As in the case of other States, the Puranas are useful for reconstructing the political history of Uttar Pradesh roughly up to 300 A.D. Along with the Puranic literature we are to study coins and inscriptions of different ruling dynasties. For instance, our knowledge of the Saka Kshatrapas of Mathura has largely been derived from their coins and inscriptions. Likewise we learn about the Bharsiva Naga kings of Mathura and other places from their inscriptions and coins. Again, these two types of source-material and Bana's *Harsha-Charitam* inform us about the

Maukharis of Kanyakubja and the life and achievements of Harsha, about whom Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, is eloquent. Harshavardhana also finds mention in the Aihole inscription of his rival, the Chalukya Pulakesin II, which informs us of Harsha's failure in conquering south India as a result of his defeat at the hands of Pulakesin. For the post-Harsha period, our chief sources of information are: *Gaudavaho* (a Prakrit historical biography of Yasovarman of Kanauj, a few of whose inscriptions and coins have also been discovered); *Rajatarangini* (which refers to the struggle between the Kings of Kashmir, Gurjara-Pratihara rulers of Kanauj and the Pala kings of Bengal); the Rashtrakuta inscriptions which record the campaigns which some of its rulers undertook against the Gurjara-Pratihara rulers of Kanauj and the Palas of Bengal with a view to bringing Northern India under their control; the coins and inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihara and Gahadavala rulers of Kanauj which throw welcome light on their policies and achievements and which inform us of various unsuccessful attempts of Arab generals (called Hammira) which may have a tinge of historical fact for the eighth and ninth centuries, but may have later on become a mere traditional form of expression. Arab travellers also record some events of historical importance in the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom. Similarly, we learn a lot about the condition and fate of the Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom under Rajyapala from the historians of Mahmud of Ghazna. Turkish histories pertaining to the life and times of Muhammad of Ghor inform us about the last years of Gahadavala kingdom under Jaichandra Rathor.

Even for the historical period we have to separate the chaff from the grain, particularly in the cases of biographical works and *prasasti* type of inscriptions. The chief defects of biographies as well as inscriptions are highly ornamental language, occasional use of words and phrases with double meanings, excessive praise of and tall claims for their patron-kings by respective writers, and sometimes claims of victory in a battle made in the records of both parties (as in the case of Gurjara-Pratihara and Palas), one-sided or unilateral claims and accounts (for example, we learn of Harsha's South Indian campaign from the Aihole inscription

of Pulakesin II and also from Hiuen-Tsang but Harsha's extant records are totally silent about it; or the claims of Gurjara-Pratihara rulers of having repulsed the Hammira or Arab invaders about which Arab historians are altogether silent). Their evidence cannot be accepted at its face value without due corroboration. However, their chief utility consists in bringing to light unknown dynasties and rulers as well as little known historical events.

Source-material for Socio-economic History

Regarding socio-economic history of ancient Uttar Pradesh, we are in a better position. We have gained a tolerably good knowledge of social institutions, customs and traditions as well as economic conditions of the people right from the later Vedic period down to the twelfth century A.D. from a variety of sources like the Dharmasutras, Smriti texts, grammatical works like Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* and Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and Vatsayana's *Kamasutra*, literary works of eminent authors like Kalidasa and Bana, accounts of foreign travellers like Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsang and Al-Biruni. But the difficulty is that many of these texts had to conform to Sastric injunctions on social rules and behaviour and thus fail to depict social reality. Hence their utility is very limited except, where, like *Devichandraguptam* of Visakhadatta, they mention the practice of widow remarriage frowned upon by the Smritis. Again, they concern themselves with classes and not with the common people. However, Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* and Bana's *Harshacharita* and *Kadambari* depict the social life of the people to some extent. Accounts of foreign travellers are useful in obtaining a glimpse into the social life of the people, but here too the question arises whether they could understand and appreciate the social realities prevailing then. However, we can, to some extent, depend on them for a factual account. Another major difficulty regarding the Indian source-material in most cases is their date, though we are definite about foreign ones in most cases. Scholars do not always agree on the date of composition of most of the indigenous texts and hence it is difficult

to say definitely to which period they refer. Archaeological excavations also throw light on the mode of living of the people in the different ages.

The same difficulty on Chronology confronts us regarding the source material on economic history. The Brahmanas and the Sutra literature tell us about different occupations followed by the people. The Jatakas and other Buddhist works not only reveal to us various occupations of the people, but also throw a flood of light on inland and foreign trade, guilds or corporate organizations of various trades, the chief trade routes followed by caravans of traders, etc. They refer to Sravasti (the capital of the Kosala kingdom), Kasi and Kausambi (capital of the Vatsa kingdom), all of which lie in U.P., as great trading centres of the time. However, their allusions pertain chiefly to the eastern region of U.P. They do not inform us about the economic life of other regions. Again, they are a useful source of information about the overseas trade, particularly with the eastern countries. They speak of a highly developed economy, but archaeological evidence refutes their statements in as much as it reveals to us only a simple or primitive state of economy. However, the Jataka description of Indian economy in pre-Christian and Christian centuries is in agreement to some extent with other texts, such as Panini's *Ashtadhyayi*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, Vatsyayan's *Kamasutra*, Kamandaka's *Nitisara* as well as coins of different peoples and royal dynasties. Their very abundance goes to show the flourishing condition of trade in the early Christian era. Inscriptions from South-east Asia confirm the accounts of flourishing overseas trade. Inscriptions recording religious endowments by artisans and traders, read in conjunction with the accounts of Hiuen Tsang and the Perso-Arabic writers, offer us a glimpse into the highly developed state of economy during the ancient and early medieval periods of India including Uttar Pradesh.

Source-material for Religious History

The later Vedic literature comprising the Yajus, Sama and Atharva Samhitas, the Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishads

show that during their age the centre of Aryan political and religious life had shifted from the Punjab to the Ganga-Yamuna doab, lately designated as Madhyadesa. As a result the region witnessed not only the progress and development of Vedic ritualism as prescribed in the Brahmana literature, but also the birth of various schools of philosophical thought as developed in the Aranyakas and Upanishads. Some of the Upanishads praise the achievements of some Kuru-Panchala kings in the field of philosophy. One of the major events in the religious history of Uttar Pradesh is the rise of Buddhism: it was at Mrigadava (modern Sarnath) that Buddha preached his doctrines in the sixth century B.C. and his religion succeeded in striking roots in the soil of the State in his lifetime. Many contemporary rulers like Prasenajit of Kosala and Udayana of Kausambi and eminent Sresthins (Seths or businessmen and traders), like Anathapindaka, embraced Buddhism or showed predilection for it. The story of the progress of Buddhism is narrated in great detail in the Buddhist literature. Similarly, Bhagavatism, the other prominent religious system, was born and developed in and around Mathura—the birth-place of its chief deity and founder, Vasudeva-Krishna. Soon the religion preached by Krishna was to become very popular among the masses, and to earn the reputation of being the second great rival of the Vedic religion. We do not know much about the early progress of Jainism in the State, but if Jain traditions are to be believed, Rishabha, the first Tirthankara and founder of the religion, was a king of Kosala. A few of the later Tirthankaras, in particular Parsvanatha (the twenty-third), hailed from Varanasi. This establishes the early prominence which Uttar Pradesh had established over other regions of India in the field of religion. The Buddhist works as well as the discovery of Asoka's rock and pillar inscriptions at various places testify to the fact that Buddhism had made great strides within the State since the time of the Buddha. Buddhist works also inform us that Asoka's spiritual mentor, Upagupta, was born at Varanasi and headed the Mathura Vihara. The numerous centres of Buddhist learning and monasteries at various places in the State mentioned in Buddhist works and by Chinese pilgrims, some of which were in ruins at the time of Fa-

hien and a few of which still exist in the form of historical monuments, tell us the tale of the religious progress and decline in the State. The eminence of Mathura as a centre of Buddhist art is also a pointer to the great popularity and following of this religion in Uttar Pradesh. The rise in the popularity of Saivism in the State is attested to by the Bharasiva Naga inscriptions. The Gupta monuments (temples as well as stupas) pertaining to the worship of various deities (Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain) testify to a state of healthy competition among these religions in Uttar Pradesh in which Brahmanism or neo-Vedic religion was gradually gaining an upper hand. Hiuen Tsang and Bana mention various sects and sub-sects of these major religions and the latter also hints at the gradual emergence of Tantric practices. I-Tsing provides us with descriptions of Buddhist monastic life and the rise of Vajrayana and Sahajayana sects among the Buddhists.

Regarding the religious history of ancient Uttar Pradesh we are on better grounds in comparison to the history of other aspects of life. The source-material is fairly dependable and we may largely accept its evidence as true, except when rival claims are put forward by two or more religions. Here, too, we may seek to examine these claims in the light of the religious situation of the whole country. Sometimes we face problems, as for instance, in regard to the dates and historicity of the first twenty-two Jain Tirthankaras or SriKrishna.

Source-material for Cultural History

For the reconstruction of the cultural history of ancient Uttar Pradesh, archaeological materials are manifestly very important. These are of two types: monuments still standing on the surface of the soil, mostly in ruins, which include stupas, chaityas and viharas, and temples dedicated to various deities, Brahmanical and Jaina, and secondly, material recovered from excavations of historical sites, which include pottery of various types and colours, implements and war-weapons of stone, bone, copper, bronze and iron, ruins of buildings, terracotta objects and images and other types of materials. The evidence furnished

by monuments is sometimes corroborated by literary evidence.

The various sites excavated in the State help us to reconstruct a cultural sequence for the State from Palaeolithic and Neolithic times down to the Iron age. This sequence includes traces of Harappan culture, Northern Black Polish pottery culture, Painted Grey Ware culture, Copper-age culture, etc. Unfortunately these were not literate cultures and even if some were literate cultures (Painted Grey Ware pottery culture, associated with the Aryans), no written records of the type have been discovered as yet.

The noted archaeological (proto-historic and historical) sites in Uttar Pradesh so far excavated include Ahichhatra (Bareilly district), Alamgirpur and Hastinapur (Meerut district), Bara-gaon and Ambkeri (Saharanpur district), Bhita and Kausambi (both in the Allahabad district), Hathania Pahar and Bhadrawan hillock, Prahladpur, Rajghat, and Sarnath (all in the Varanasi district), Kanauj (in the Farukhabad district), Sravasti (Gonda Bahraich district), Mathura (Mathura district), Ayodhya (Faizabad district) and Atranjikhara (Etah district). Of various other sites mention may be made of Mirzapur, Deoria, Gorakhpur and Bisauli; they have yielded copper hoards.*

We learn about the intellectual and spiritual culture as well as social, political and economic organization of the Aryans from the vast later Vedic literature. Some of these Vedic texts appear to have been composed in Uttar Pradesh. Again, some authors of eminence like Banabhatta in the historical period must have hailed from Uttar Pradesh and would have composed their works here. The writing of an intellectual history of the State in the ancient period is thus not an impossibility. Ancient Uttar Pradesh had also celebrated centres of learning at Varanasi and Prayaga.

Ancient monuments, like stupas, chaityas, temples and other secular buildings, images of gods and goddesses and statues of

* Recently a Project has been undertaken to excavate sites connected with the Ramayana period and work is already under way at Ayodhya in Faizabad.

kings (e.g., Vima Kadphises and Kanishka) provide us materials for reconstructing the history of art and architecture of Uttar Pradesh in ancient and early medieval period. Ancient Uttar Pradesh can boast of two celebrated schools of art which developed at Mathura and Sarnath; the products of these schools have elicited the admiration of art historians and connoisseurs. Regarding music and dancing, dramaturgy, etc., we do not possess much source-material except literary references. We may, however, try to trace the genesis of various *gharanas* (schools) of musicians and the dance-modes like the Kathak, as these must have required centuries to evolve.

Problems or Difficulties in Using the Source-material

A few observations by way of concluding our discussion may be made. First, in spite of the variety and abundance of source-material, it is not an easy task to reconstruct the ancient history of Uttar Pradesh. It is not possible, I presume, for a single scholar to study this vast mass of materials alone and to write an authentic and authoritative history. For this purpose we would require a joint effort by many experts in various fields. Secondly, the dates of many a source-material being indefinite, it is difficult to write a connected narrative of the ancient period of Uttar Pradesh in definite chronological terms. Thirdly, the original forms and contents of the religious or quasi-religious literature (such as the Epics and the Puranas, Dharmasutras, Smriti texts, etc.) are not known, since they have undergone reorientation over the centuries. Hence, in order to judiciously utilize these works for writing a history of ancient Uttar Pradesh, it is necessary to determine what is original in them and what is later-day interpolation. Fourthly, variants in readings in ancient literary works, sometimes due to copyists' errors and insufficient knowledge, are not uncommon. Sometimes lines and sentences, or even paragraphs of the manuscript of a text, are found to be missing in another manuscript of the same. As a result, scholars using different texts of the same work are bound to differ in their opinions. Fifthly, words susceptible to changes in meaning or likely to become obsolete with the passage

of time require to be carefully studied ; in other words, in order to properly interpret words in an ancient text and building a theory around them it is necessary to determine the particular meaning given to a particular word at a given time. Sixthly, as regards foreign accounts, identifications of names of places and persons mentioned therein are not always easy, since the authors could not always transliterate them with accuracy. Finally, the divergent nature of evidence collected from literary works and the material unearthed in archaeological excavations hinders our study on several occasions. It is not always easy to establish compatibility between these two types of sources.

Notwithstanding all such problems regarding our source-material, historians are not keeping themselves inactive. The historians of Uttar Pradesh, like those of other States, are trying their best to illuminate the obscure areas of the ancient history of this major State of India on the basis of an integrated study of diverse types of source-material.

THE NUMISMATIC SOURCE OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH

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THE MIGHTY imperial fabric set up by Chandragupta Maurya (c. 324-300 B.C.) and reared up by the genius of Asoka (c. 272-36 B.C.) crumbled within fifty years of the death of the latter. Pushyamitra Sunga, the assassinator of Maurya Brihadratha and the founder of a new line, came to power sometime about 185 B.C. and took over what was left of the great empire. Despite his best attempts Pushyamitra failed to prove himself the master of a far-flung empire like that of Asoka. The condition worsened after his death and his dynasty was overthrown around 72 B.C. by another dynasty called the Kanvas. During this period, extending from c. 150 B.C. to 72 B.C., which is usually described as the 'Dark Age', Northern India turned to be a congeries of States like Mathura, Ayodhya, Magadha and a host of others. These indigenous States were either monarchical or non-monarchical. It was during this period again that rulers of these indigenous States had to measure their swords with foreign invaders like the Greeks, the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Kushanas with varying amount of success. Lack of a stable and centralised government resulted in turmoil and confusion and it was in this welter that a number of non-monarchical tribal peoples and monarchical dynasties succeeded in maintaining themselves somehow, diplomatically or militarily, in their hard struggle for existence, details of which are not available.

Yet there are reasons to be hopeful in the matter of reconstructing the history of this 'Dark Age'. Indeed, in the course of a century and a half there has been a fairly rich accumulation of materials which have enabled us to infuse into the *disjecta*

membra of the narrative of this obscure period the life and colour of the contemporary peoples. The main source of information about the indigenous States of the age under study is a large number of coins. These tiny and unpretentious documents have rendered us help more than what we normally expect of them. An integrated study of these numismatic materials along with the data gleaned from other sources has enabled us to bridge the gap between the post-Maurya and the pre-Gupta period, the so-called 'Dark Period' of Indian history.

II

Not a few of these independent indigenous States were located in what is now known as Uttar Pradesh, and precisely speaking the traditional Madhyadesa or the Ganga-Yamuna Doab.¹ Of the non-monarchical principalities set up by the tribal peoples reference may be made to those of the Arjunayanas, the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas, though the two last-named peoples were primarily the inhabitants of the Punjab. Coins of the Arjunayanas² have hailed from Mathura and its environs and a series of these issues (Bull : Lakshmi) have some affinities with the Northern Satrapal coins (Elephant-riders: Lakshmi) which were current at Mathura and Agra in the first century B.C. Besides, the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta which refers to their submission to the Gupta monarch places them between the Malavas and the Yaudheyas who also acknowledged the supremacy of Samudragupta and hence it is surmisable that the Arjunayanas were neighbours of these peoples and perhaps lived 'within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra'³ during the period under review. Though the Arjunayanas appear to have had a big chunk of their territory in modern Rajasthan, they occupied a portion of the present-day Uttar Pradesh and thus they claim their inclusion in the history of the State in question.

Likewise the Kunindas, chiefly a Punjab tribe, held sway over parts of modern Uttar Pradesh. This is indicated by their coins which have been recovered from places like Behat

near Shaharanpur and Sumari, Bhattisera, Dewalgarh and Srinagar in the Garhwal district. The Kunindas, with variants of their name, such as *Kulinda*, *Kaulinda*, and *Kauninda*, are known from literature,⁴ but their numismatic issues have proved to be a major source. The Kuninda coins, struck in silver as well as copper, are typologically divisible into two classes (Deer and Lakshmi ; various symbols, and Siva : Deer) with accompanying legends revealing the identity of the issuers (coins of the first group bear Brahmi and Kharoshthi legends on their obverse and reverse).⁵ Chronologically, these coins are divisible into two groups, the first belonging to the first century B.C. and first century A.D., the second to the third-fourth century A.D. As the Kunindas do not figure in the Allahabad pillar inscription it may be suggested that they dwindled in importance and coalesced with a comparatively powerful tribe like the Yaudheyas. However, they are believed to have left their successors, and perhaps actual descendants, among modern Indian population⁶ and attempt has also been made to recognise in the names of some places in Kumayun and Garhwal regions, such as *Kaiynur*, *Kunalta* and *Kunelkhet*, all supposedly being the corrupt survivals of the name *Kuninda* or *Kulinda*.⁷

The Yaudheyas, perhaps the most distinguished among ancient Indian tribes, find the earliest mention in the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini (fifth century B.C.). They are described as an *ayudhajivi sangha*, i.e., a people living by profession of arms, in the *Ganapatha* of Panini, the major portion of which is usually believed to have been composed by the grammarian. Apart from a number of literary references to them,⁸ they are mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman of the year 72 (=A.D. 150) and the Bijaygadhi inscription of about the third century A.D. The former record describes them as proud for 'having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas' and refers to their defeat at the hands of Rudradaman. Like the aforesaid Arjunayanas they are also said to have acknowledged the supremacy of Samudragupta in the Allahabad prasasti of Harishena. The combined testimony of literature, coins and seals and epigraphic records, shows that the Yaudheyas spread themselves over a vast territory extending 'from Ludhiyana to

Shaharanpur in one direction and from Shaharanpur to Bahawalpur in another', though it is doubtful whether they remained in occupation of this territory at any given period of time. From the findspots of their coins, coin-moulds and seals they appear to have had their strongholds at Bahawalpur (Pakistan) and Rohtak (ancient Rohitaka, Haryana) and it is reasonable to assume that they held different parts of the aforesaid area in the course of their diffusion at different times. However, what is important in the present context is that the territory of the Yaudheyas included portions of Western and North-western Uttar Pradesh and perhaps at one stage the sway of this people extended as far as Shaharanpur in the east. This contention is formulated, *inter alia*, by the discovery of their coins at Behat near Shaharanpur which has also yielded a few specie of the Kunindas, Jaunsar Bawar in the Dehradun district, Lansdowne in the Garhwal district and Muradnagar in the Meerut district.⁹ On the basis of devices and symbols as well as their arrangements, the coins of the Yaudheyas have been divided into as many as eight classes,¹⁰ the most prominent devices being the effigies of Karttikeya (one—as well as six-headed) and his consort Devasena (with corresponding number of heads). Chronologically, these monetary issues may be divided into three groups : the first belonging to the second century B.C.—first century A.D. ; the second belonging to the second-third century A.D. ; and the last assignable to the end of the third and the first half of the fourth century A.D.

There are yet many dark patches in the spectrum of the history of ancient Uttar Pradesh as that of other States of India. The foregoing discussion would perhaps show that sometimes these dark areas can be illuminated by unpretentious documents like monetary issues of ancient times. The place of the non-monarchical peoples, such as the Arjunayanas, the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas, in the history of ancient Uttar Pradesh is now an established fact and whatever we have come to know about them is chiefly derived from their coinages. Indeed, but for these numismatic records, the role of these tribal peoples in one of the obscure periods of our history would have largely remained unknown.

III

The reconstruction of the history of various monarchical States during the period under study has also been attempted on the basis of the study of the coins issued by their rulers. These States include those which were established at Kausambi (Kosam, thirty-two miles south-west of Allahabad), Ayodhya, Kanyakubja (Kanauj, Farrukhabad district), Mathura and Panchala (Bareilly-Rohilkhand sector). To this list may be added the State of Almora which perhaps maintained a monarchical form of government in the second or first half of the second century B.C.

The history of Kausambi goes back to the age of the Buddha (sixth century B.C.), when it was the capital of the kingdom of Vatsa, one of the sixteen contemporary Mahajanapadas. A large number of antiquities, including several inscribed (some with the legend *Kosambi*, *Kosambiya* and *Kosabikanam*) and uninscribed coins, discovered in course of excavations and explorations at Kosam, thirty-two miles south-west of Allahabad, since the time of Cunningham, have not only settled the identification of this famous ancient city, but have also revealed that it was in continued occupation from the sixth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.¹¹ Copper or bronze coins discovered in and around Kosam are usually divided into four groups.¹² Class I consists of cast pieces, mostly uninscribed, with the figure of a lanky bull (occasionally that of Gaja-Lakshmi or an elephant) and a few symbols on the obverse and the symbols like the tree-in-railing, *svastika* and the cross-and-ball symbol (commonly known as Ujjain symbol) on the reverse. Class II includes the die-struck issues of a large number of rulers and they carry the figure of a bull (occasionally a lion, a horse or a rude human figure) on the obverse and a tree-in-railing and other symbols on the reverse; the pieces of Class III are different from those of the previous class (though connected with regard to devices and symbols) in respect of style and fabric and reveal the existence of a line of rulers later than those represented by Class II; and the coins of Class IV of the 'bull : tree-in-railing type' (sometimes an elephant on the obverse) bear the names of the Magha rulers.

The uninscribed cast coins of Class I, earliest in the series, may be assigned to the beginning of the second century B.C. Inscribed pieces of the same class, together with the issues of Class II, have disclosed the names of as many as twenty-six rulers; the earliest of these kings, Sudeva and Brihaspatimitra, are usually placed in the second half of the second century B.C., while the latest of them like Rajamitra, Prajapatimitra and Rajanimitra, probably flourished in the middle of the first century A.D. Rulers represented by the coins of Class III, such as Dhanadeva, Nava and Mulahasta, may be assigned to the first half of the second century A.D. and the chronological gap between the two groups of rulers as represented by Class II and Class III may be satisfactorily explained by the inclusion of Kausambi in the Kushana dominion during the reign of Kanishka (A.D. 78-102) and partly in the reign of Huvishka (A.D. 106-38). The Kushanas at Kausambi were seemingly ousted by the Dhanadeva-Nava group of rulers, a contention which receives support from the stratigraphic evidence of the relevant coins. The Dhanadeva-Nava group of kings was in its turn followed by the Magha rulers like Maharaja Magha, Vasishthiputra Bhimasena, Bhadramagha, Gautamiputra Sivamagha, Vaisravana, Satamagha, Rajamagha and others.¹³ It was once suggested on the basis of the Bandogarh and Ginja (both the places in the Rewa district, Madhya Pradesh) inscriptions of the years 51 and 52 (A.D. 129 and 130, if referred to the Saka era) as well as some seals that Vasishthiputra Bhimasena was the earliest member of the family and he started his career perhaps as a feudatory under the overlordship of either Huvishka or Gautamiputra Satakarni (A.D. 72-96) and asserted his independence towards the end of his reign, around A.D. 130. Of late a coin has come to light bearing the legend *Maharaja Magha* which evidently stands for the name of the eponymous member of the dynasty¹⁴ and thus it was he who inaugurated the independent career of his family. He was perhaps the close, if not the immediate, predecessor of Vasishthiputra Bhimasena. However, all these Magha kings are believed to have ruled for about a century and a half and thus the Magha rule terminated before the close of the third century A.D. A coin bearing the

name of a certain *Sri Rudra* on the obverse and the standing figure of Siva with his bull on the reverse has been found at Kausambi.¹⁵ He is generally identified with Rudradeva who figures in the Allahabad pillar inscription as one of the Aryavarta kings exterminated by Samudragupta.¹⁶ Typologically, this piece is different from the Kausambi coins and hence it is doubtful whether Rudra did actually belong to this region.¹⁷

In short, the reconstruction of this phase of the history of Kausambi has been chiefly made on the basis of contemporary numismatic records, though some significant materials have been collected also from inscriptions and seals and sealings. The integrated study of all these data, mostly obtained in recent times, has made the picture of the political condition of Kausambi during the period under review clearer than before. And what is more, the relevant materials, particularly the coins, have thrown light on a period about which practically no information is furnished by literary treatises.

At Ayodhya also appeared an independent monarchy, the history of which is known mainly from the monetary issues of its rulers like Dhanadeva, Visakhadeva, Naradatta, Ajavarman, Ayumitra, Kumudasena and Vijayamitra. The coins in question may be divided into three groups.¹⁸ Class I, the first and earliest, consists of a few cast pieces of three types (flower : plain ; a Svastika : a symbol ; and a Svastika over a fish : a symbol, different from that of the previous type). Coins of Class II show a bull or rarely an elephant on their obverse and a group of five or six symbols, such as the Ujjain symbol, a tree-in-railing and a Svastika. Class III consists of round coins of die-struck variety ; issues of a later dynasty, they are dissimilar to the pieces of other two classes, and they usually bear on their obverse a bull before a standard or spear, and a cock and a palm tree on their reverse.

Chronologically, Class I coins are assignable to the latter part of the second century B.C. and the beginning of the first century B.C. ; issues of Class II to the beginning of the first century B.C. to about the end of the eighth decade of the first century A.D. when Kanishka was engaged in spreading tentacles of imperialism in different directions ; and coins of Class III to

the middle of the second century A.D. to the commencement of the fourth century A.D. Like Kausambi the State of Ayodhya was also included in the Kushana dominion during the reign of Kanishka and perhaps also partly that of Huvishka, a contention which is confirmed by the discovery of a few inscriptions dated in the Kanishka or the Saka era hailing from Saheth-Maheth near Ayodhya (Saheth-Maheth or ancient Sravasti, like Ayodhya, was also included in the ancient Kosala kingdom).¹⁹ Coins of Class III, which reveal the names of rulers like Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Ayumitra, Vijayamitra and others, show that these kings asserted their independence taking advantage of the increasing weakness of the Kushanas after Kanishka. That the State of Ayodhya passed on to the Imperial Guptas is attested to by a Puranic passage according to which Saketa (Ayodhya and its environs) was a part of the Gupta kingdom. Since this passage is generally assigned to the period of Chandragupta I, the event took place sometime in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.²⁰

Mathura, which was the capital of the Mahajanapada of the Surasenas in the age of the Buddha (sixth-fifth century B.C.), has since retained its fame as an old site of religion and culture. The Greek writer, Ptolemy (around A.D. 150), describes Modura (i.e., Mathura) as 'the city of gods'²¹ and the spades of archaeologists and the eyes of explorers have recovered a large number of ancient relics, including coins of indigenous and alien rulers, from this site of antiquity. During the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 300, Mathura witnessed the rise of indigenous families, in addition to its subjugation by foreign rulers like the Saka Satraps and the imperial Kushanas. And the history of Mathura of this period is mainly based on the data supplied by numismatic records.

The ephemeral rule of the Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, as evidenced by the 'Yugapurana' section of the *Gargisamhita*,²² appears to have been put an end to by Pushyamitra Sunga (c. 175 B.C.-150 B.C.), who included it in his kingdom. Whether the Later Sungas could maintain their hold over Mathura is not known for certain, but the numismatic evidence has disclosed the existence of as many as thirteen Hindu rulers with *mitra* or

datta name-endings (excepting one whose name is Balabhuti), the earliest of whom Gomitra is believed to have begun his reign towards the end of the second century B.C.²³ Struck in copper, all these coins are singularly uniform, displaying the figure of Lakshmi with a lotus in her uplifted right hand between several symbols on either side on the obverse and three elephants with riders on the reverse. It is to be noted that barring three rulers—Gomitra, Vishnumitra and Suryamitra—names of all the others have been supplied by their coins alone.²⁴

The six Mitra rulers of Mathura, such as Gomitra (the existence of two kings of this name have been suggested by some),²⁵ Suryamitra, Brahmamitra, Dridhamitra, and Satyamitra, appear to have ruled from the closing years of the second century B.C. to the middle of the first century B.C.²⁶ The kings with *datta* name-endings, also numbering six, are usually taken to be the immediate successors of the Mitra rulers, ruling from the middle of the first century B.C. to the early years of the first century A.D.²⁷ The Datta rulers include Purushadatta, Ramadatta, Kamadatta, Seshadatta, Uttamadatta and Bhavadatta, the last two being in all probability members of a collateral line. Whether Balabhuti was connected with the Dattas or not, is not known.²⁸ Likewise, another enigmatic figure, named Apalata (Aparanta?) preceded by the title *Maharaja*, is known from a few coins, and his connection with the Mitras or Dattas of Mathura is also uncertain.²⁹ At any rate, all these Hindu kings of Mathura must have ended their rule in the early years of the first century A.D., a fact which has been confirmed by recent excavations at Sonkh near Mathura.³⁰

The Hindu rulers of Mathura were succeeded by Saka Satraps like Rajuvula, Sodasa, Hagana, Hagamasha, Sivaghosha and Sivadatta.³¹ Relevant monetary issues, in conjunction with a few epigraphic records, such as the Amohini votive tablet of the year 72 of Sodasa's time (referred to in the Vikrama era, the corresponding year in the Christian era being A.D. 14-15) and the Mathura Lion capital inscriptions, have enabled us to reconstruct their history with a fair amount of certainty. Raju-

vula issued three types of coins, portrait : Pallas Athene ; lion : Herakles ; and, standing Lakshmi : Abhisheka-Lakshmi, of which the last one was almost exclusive to the Mathura region. This was also the type of Sodasa's coinage. However, historically it is now believed that Rajuvula, earliest of these Satraps, ruled at first as a Kshatrapa in parts of the undivided Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh and thereafter as a Mahakshatrapa in western Uttar Pradesh with Mathura as his seat of power. He was succeeded by Sodasa who was likewise at first a Kshatrapa and then a Mahakshatrapa, and his authority was confined to the Mathura region. A Kshatrapa called Toranadasa, also the son of an unnamed Mahakshatrapa, was the son of either Rajuvula or Sodasa and he is known from his solitary coin, struck in copper.³² Whether the remaining Satraps, Hagana, Hagamasha, Sivaghosha and Sivadatta, were related to Rajuvula and Sodasa is not known, though numismatically they appear to have belonged to a different family. Coins of Hagana and Hagamasha are of the same conception and style ; coins of Hagamasha retain the local obverse type of Lakshmi and carry the figure of a horse on the reverse, while another specie bears the legend *Khatapana Haganaasa Hagamashasa* on the obverse and the figure of a horse on the reverse. The joint issues of Hagamasha and Hagana are later than the pieces bearing the name of Hagamasha alone.³³ Sivadatta and Sivaghosha whose monetary issues are practically identical with those of Hagamasha, are generally regarded as members and successors of his family, though they were more Hinduised than all their forebears. Though the order of succession of these Satraps is not exactly known, the fact remains that their rule came to an end with the rise of Kanishka, as confirmed by numerous coins and inscriptions of Kanishka and his successor found at Mathura and its environs.³⁴ Most probably sometime after A.D. 200 Mathura was liberated from the Kushana domination and passed on to the Nagas.

Culturally the Nagas had already established themselves in the Kushana period. This is evidenced by monumental remains of the age in question. With the gradual waning of the power of the Kushanas from about the closing years of the second century, the Nagas began to spread their political influence as well and

shortly Mathura became a prominent political and cultural centre of the Nagas. This is known not only from the archaeological relics of the post-Kushana period, but also from the Puranas which allude to the seven Naga princes ruling at Mathura.⁵³ The two other noted Naga centres are Padmavati (Padam Pawaya, near Narwar, Madhya Pradesh) and Kanti-puri (generally identified with Kutwar, twenty miles to the north of Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh), which have also yielded old relics, including coins, associated with the Nagas. Collectively, all these antiquities relating to the Nagas found at different places of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh (in addition to Padam Pawaya and Kutwar are sites like Narwar, Gohad and Ujjain, all yielding coins) attest to the power and prestige enjoyed by the Nagas who probably belonged to more than one branch and one political centre, in the period intervening between the fall of the Kushanas and the rise of the imperial Guptas, that is, roughly between A.D. 200 and A.D. 300.

In reconstructing the history of the Nagas during this period coins have been of substantial help. The Naga coins, usually very small pieces of copper, generally carry on their obverse symbols like trident, wheel, bull, peacock, etc., and the name of the issuer on their reverse.⁵⁶ They have purveyed the names of as many as twelve Naga kings, some of which were hitherto unknown. Kings represented by them include Bhima-naga, Brihaspatinaga, Devanaga, Ganapatinaga, Skandanaga, Vasunaga, Vyaghranaga, Prabhakaranaga, Bhavanaga, Ravinaga, Vibhunaga and Vrishabha. Of them Ganapatinaga is known to have issued the largest number of coins and he may be justifiably taken as identical with his namesake mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as an Aryavarta king exterminated by Samudragupta.⁵⁷ Nagasena and Nagadatta, two other rulers who shared the same fate in the hands of the Gupta monarch, appear to have been the scions of the Naga family.⁵⁸ Nagasena, though unrepresented by coins, has been described as belonging to the Naga line (*Nagakula*) and as meeting his doom at Padmavati, in the *Harshacharita* of Banabhatta.⁵⁹ The name of the other king, Nagadatta, is also suggestive of his Naga

lineage, though he is otherwise unknown.⁴⁰ We would like to connect Nagadatta with the family of the third-century king Sisuchandradatta, a rectangular copper specie of whom with the legend in incuse on the obverse and elephant to right on the reverse, has been found at Mathura.⁴¹ 'In its general character—fabric, shape, size and epigraphy—it seems to be not far removed from the coins of Virasena', another king of the time, who was numismatically at least a member of the Naga dynasty.⁴² Virasena's coins (three types—legend: bull; legend: tree-in-railing and legend: bull or trident axe, legend being circular unlike others), though found abundantly from Mathura, have been recovered also from Bulandshahr, Etah and Farrukhabad districts of Uttar Pradesh and Padam Paway in Madhya Pradesh. Maharaja Virasena (title known from his third type of coins), probably identical with Svami Virasena of Jankhat (Farrukhabad district) inscription,⁴³ appears to have ruled over a wide area in the latter half of the third century in the Ganga-Yamuna doab, the nerve-centre of the traditional Madhyadesa, which includes Mathura. It is not improbable that Nagasena, the adversary of Samudragupta, belonged to the Naga branch to which Virasena also belonged and during the time of the Gupta monarch, it was confined to Padmavati where Nagasena reportedly died. Nagadatta, another enemy of Samudragupta, and believed by us to have been related to Sisuchandradatta, also a Naga king, ruled either in Mathura or a locality not far from it. In any case, there is no doubt that different branches of the Naga dynasty brought a substantial portion of modern Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh under their political jurisdiction in the third century and they petered out sometime in the third or fourth decade of the following century with the rise of Samudragupta.

The last major monarchical state of the period under review, now included in Uttar Pradesh, is Panchala. According to some literary texts, it was divided into two sectors, North and South, with respective capitals at Ahichchatra or modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district and Kampilya or Kampil in the Farrukhabad district. It therefore roughly corresponds to the Bareilly,

Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the Ganga-Yamuna doab. One of the sixteen Mahajanapadas in the age of the Buddha, Panchala was lately incorporated in the Maurya empire and towards the end of the third century B.C. had to bear the brunt of the Yavana aggressions along with Saketa and Mathura.⁴⁴ Whether Pushyamitra Sunga succeeded in maintaining his hold over Panchala is not definitely known, but numismatic records testify to the existence of independent rulers (perhaps belonging to different branches) in Northern Panchala between the first century B.C. and the close of the third century A.D., with a break of about a century in the continuous rule due to the aggressions of Kanishka and his successors.^{44a} Materials gleaned from the monetary issues of the Panchala rulers have been profitably utilized for writing the history of Panchala, particularly of the period, which is relatively obscure.

Coins found in, or attributed to, the region of Panchala 'form one of the longest and most uniform series of ancient Indian coins'.⁴⁵ Struck in copper, they carry on their obverse three ubiquitous symbols with the king's name below in Prakrit and in the genitive, all within a square incuse on a round coin, and on the reverse the figure of a deity or rarely his symbol on a platform with a railing in front and posts on either side. Incidentally, the effigies of divinities on the reverse, such as Agni, Bhadra, Vishnu and Indra, have thrown light on the development of their iconography, particularly where they are clearly discernible.

The coinage of Panchala has preserved the names of as many as twenty-six rulers, such as Agnimitra, Bhumimitra, Indramitra, Vishnumitra, Bhadrashosha, Rudrashosha, Jayagupta, Rudragupta, Sivanandi, Srinandi, Vangapala, Yajnapala, Vasusena and Yugasena. Thus according to their name-endings, the rulers can be placed in six groups : Mitra, Ghosha, Gupta, Nandi, Pala and Sena. It is not necessary to hold that they belonged to six branches of the same dynasty, since members of the same royal family with different name-endings are not altogether unknown (e.g., the seventh-century king Adityasena belonged to a family all the members of which had *Gupta* name-ending). However, the existence of one or two branches or collateral lines of the

Panchala ruling dynasty is not beyond the range of probability. And this probability is enhanced by the small copper coins, bearing the legend *Achyu* in the fourth-century Brahmi script on the obverse and a wheel on the reverse; they have been recovered from Ahichchatra.⁴⁶ *Achyu* of the coins is identical with Achyuta who is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as having been extirpated by Samudragupta.

IV

The numismatic history of Uttar Pradesh would be incomplete without a reference to three more places, viz., Almora, Kanauj and Varanasi. A hill district of the Kumaon division, Almora has yielded four coins of some alloy of silver, all being of the same group.⁴⁷ They are heavier than other local coins, as referred to above, and are also distinguishable from them in respect of style, fabric, size and types. On the obverse of three pieces occur a circle-with-a-curved line at the centre, a stag before a tree in railing and the names of the issuers in Brahmi, such as, Haridatta, Sivadatta, Sivapalita and Mrigabhuti and 'an altar surmounted by a triangle-headed standard with an elaborate *nandipada* symbol on its face' on the reverse. The remaining coin, disclosing the name of Sivapalita, bears a rude human or divine figure in place of the central symbol on the obverse in addition to the usual symbols, the reverse device remaining unchanged. Palaeographically, the Almora coins are assignable to the latter half of the second century B.C. Three more coins bearing the name of Sivadatta, have been found at Saheth-Maheth (ancient Sravasti) near Ayodhya; but they are of much lighter weight and also typologically somewhat different from the Almora series, and hence the view seeking to identify the Sivadatta of Almora with his Sravasti-Ayodhya namesake appears to be untenable; and indeed there is no adequate ground for the supposition that these coins passed to Almora by the way of Panchala.⁴⁸

Equally unacceptable is the view which seeks to attribute the above-noted Almora rulers to a branch of the Kunindas, 'whose territories extended as far as Nepal'. A comparative study of

the Almora and the Kuninda coins from the points of view of fabric, style, type and weight, would bring out the differences between them in clear relief. Indeed, the Almora coins struck by the members of a local dynasty form a class apart and cannot be regarded as the monetary issues of the Kunindas.⁴⁹

Kanyakubja or modern Kanauj, now not-too-big a town of Uttar Pradesh, witnessed the rise of an independent royal dynasty in ancient times. It figures in old literary texts, including the Epics and the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali (second century B.C.), as well as the travelogues of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang. About a couple of decades ago a small-scale excavation at a mound here was undertaken and it revealed four cultural periods dating from about 1000 B.C. to the late mediaeval times.⁵⁰ However, as early as the days of James Prinsep in the second quarter of the last century, a copper coin of the die-struck variety disclosing the name of one Vishnudeva was found at Kanauj; it carries three symbols, viz., a tree-in-railing, a hare-on-crescent and an arrow-through-two-circles, with the Prakrit legend *Vishnudevassa* on the obverse and the figure of a horse on the reverse; palaeographically it is datable to the first century B.C.⁵¹ Two of these obverse symbols (namely, tree and hare) and the reverse device of horse have been encountered on another specie of the same period, reportedly found near Kausambi in recent times; it bears the name of a different ruler, *Sungavarma*.⁵² Since this piece is typologically and stylistically affiliated to the coin of Vishnudeva, it may be reasonably believed that both Sungavarma and Vishnudeva ruled at Kanauj.

A few more coins similar to the above-noted specie in respect of general style and fabric have been attributed to Kanauj, though their exact findspots are unknown. They are interrelated on account of identical symbols, such as, a tree-in-railing, Ujjain symbol and a triangle-headed standard, though arranged in a different order on each. Names of their issuers, as borne by them, are Gomitra, Brahmamitra and Suryamitra. But except the tree-in-railing motif, these pieces are by no means typologically affiliated to the issues of Sungavarma and Vishnudeva. On

the other hand, they are closer to the coins of Mathura, the issuers of which again, strikingly enough, bear identical names. It may be logically inferred therefore that the coins attributed to Kanauj were actually issued by the Mathura rulers of identical names who at some stage of their career extended their authority over Kanauj.⁵³ Even if the alleged Kanauj coins are ascribed to Mathura or some other adjacent locality, the fact remains that in the early first century B.C., Kanauj was ruled by independent kings. The history of this region during this period is obscure and it is again that the numismatic source has proved to be valuable for having thrown light on an otherwise unknown chapter of the history of ancient Uttar Pradesh.

From Rajghat near the Kasi railway station have been recovered two copper coins bearing the Brahmi legend *Varanasi* on the obverse and an indistinct legend on the reverse.⁵⁴ Another coin disclosing the name of one Yugasena was found at Bairant, about sixteen miles north-east of Varanasi.⁵⁵ All these coins, which are palaeographically assignable to the first century B.C. and are comparable to the so-called city-coins of Kausambi, Erakina (modern Eran, Madhya Pradesh), Tripuri (near Jabalpur, M.P.), etc., tend to show that front-rank cities in ancient India could issue coins; alternatively, names on such pieces may signify the prominent mint-towns from where these coins were issued and these are analogous to an extent to the mint-towns figuring on the Muslim coins of later days.

V

While the above survey has brought out the importance of coins as a source of the history of ancient India in general, it has shown that on occasions such unpretentious documents can vouchsafe welcome light for the history of a given space and time in particular, when the light from other contemporary records begin to fail. To what a remarkable extent the coins of Uttar Pradesh of the period under review have enhanced our knowledge of political (and also cultural) history will be apparent from the fact that it is from these monetary issues alone

that we have come to learn of several kings and potentates, whose names were hitherto unknown. For instance, three out of the thirteen Hindu kings of Mathura, such as Gomitra, Vishnumitra and Suryamitra, are known from epigraphical records. Similarly, out of the twenty-six rulers of Panchala known from coins, only three, viz., Vangapala, Brihaspatimitra and Dhruvamitra, find mention in contemporary inscriptions. The dates of the local dynasties ruling in Mathura, Panchala, etc., have been mainly determined by the character of the script in which the legends of their monetary issues are written. Of late the stratigraphic evidence of a number of such coins has mostly corroborated these datings and has given some new information as well. Recent excavations at Sonkh near Mathura have, for instance, unearthed coins of Gomitra, Suryamitra, Brahmamitra and Vishnumitra at levels, from 28 to 25 assignable to *circa* 100 B.C.-20 B.C., the date being suggested by the epigraph of the legends of the coins concerned. And further, since these coins do not occur in a medley, it has been concluded that during the rule of the Mitra kings of Mathura the circulating coins used to lose their validity with the death of the ruler.⁵⁶ Likewise, the lower levels of Period IV (second century B.C.-third century A.D.) at Hastinapura have yielded five Mathura coins along with Sunga terracottas, which are stratigraphically datable to the late second century B.C.-early first century B.C. and this date accords with the epigraphy of their legends. Apart from assigning a chronological bracket to a particular group of coins, such as the Mitra coins of Mathura or Panchala, the presence of specie of an individual ruler or rulers at a particular stratum helps us to fix a tolerably certain date of king or kings concerned. And thus the arrangement of the rulers of a given time and space in a chronological sequence has now been rendered easier by the stratigraphic evidence of their coins, as instanced by the issues of Gomitra and others unearthed at Sonkh (*supra*). Incidentally, while the dates of the coins are sought to be determined by their stratigraphic contexts in excavations, coins themselves also play no less an important part in dating the strata of an excavated site. This may be illustrated by the strata of Ahichchhatra in fixing the chronology of which it is only coins,

and virtually no other datable relics, that have come to the help of the excavators of the site. In any case, the discovery of a large number of coins at different places of Uttar Pradesh, both at surface and at excavated sites at datable layers, particularly in recent years, have enabled us to arrange the political events of the past in a better chronological order. This is especially true of the period, 200 B.C.-A.D. 300, the history of which is relatively obscure.

As said at the outset, the period under review was one of political disintegration, marked by the absence of a centralised government of the Mauryan type. And it is also doubtful whether Pushyamitra could maintain his effective authority over the far-flung Maurya empire (even assuming that it was hamstrung after the death of Asoka), which he had inherited. Most probably the Sungas, if not Pushyamitra himself, appointed governors in different sectors of the kingdom, which included centres of strategic and commercial importance, such as Mathura, Kausambi and Ujjayini. And significantly enough, old coins are prolific at all such places of antiquity. Taking advantage of the increasing weakness of the late Sunga rulers, most of these governors became independent and the Mitras of Kausambi, Ayodhya, Mathura and Panchala perhaps represent some such gubernatorial families. While in the Mathura region the Saka Kshatrapas put an end to the rule of the local Mitra and Datta kings, elsewhere, in Kanauj, Kausambi and Ayodhya, the Hindu kings were in power till the occupation of their territories by the Kushanas. This is confirmed by the discovery of a large number of Kushana coins from the area once under the control of the Hindu chiefs of Mathura, Ayodhya, etc., and the tribal communities like the Kunindas and Yaudheyas. Among the Hindu monarchs the rulers of Panchala in all probability suffered the brunt of foreign aggressions in a lesser degree. With the gradual weakness of the Kushanas, particularly after the demise of Huvishka, the tribal peoples and the local rulers started raising their head and they were enjoying independence in the period, roughly between A.D. 200 and A.D. 300. And they appear to have maintained this independence till the rise of the

Imperial Guptas. In short, the history of Uttar Pradesh during the period, 200 B.C. and A.D. 300, is broadly divisible into three phases : the first phase covers the rule of the non-monarchical tribes and monarchical families, following the end of the Maurya-Sunga domination, from about 200 B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D. ; the second phase, extending from *circa* A.D. 50 to A.D. 200, witnessed the temporary eclipse of their political power, consequent to the rise of the Imperial Kushanas ; and in the third and final phase, covering the period from A.D. 200 to A.D. 300, these indigenous non-monarchical communities and monarchical dynasties reasserted their independence, only to be absorbed into the body-politic of the Imperial Guptas in the early fourth century of the Christian era.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Madhyadesa. ('the middle country') is one of the five divisions of India. It was considered to be the land *par excellence* by the Hindus and the Buddhists. Its eastern limit varied in different ages, other boundaries remaining more or less the same. Traditionally Madhyadesa lay between the Himavat and the Vindhya and to the west of Prayaga and to the east of Vinasana (near Thaneshwar-Kurukshetra, Haryana). For details, see J. F. Fleet, *The Topographical List of the Brihatsamhita* (ed. by Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, 1973), pp. 60ff, fn. 69.
- ² The Arjunayana coins are few in number. Recently one base silver coin of this people has been traced in a private collection. For details about this tribe and their coins, see Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach* (hereinafter *THAI*), pp. 17ff.
- ³ J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India* (henceforth *CCBM*), p. lxxxiii.
- ^{3a} A copper coin of the Arjunayanas has recently been recovered from an old mound near Nohar in the Ganganagar district of Rajasthan. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (hereinafter *JNSI*), XXXVIII, pp. 1ff.
- ⁴ For these literary references, see *THAI*, pp. 88ff.
- ⁵ The second group of coins does not bear the name of the tribe, but on account of the presence of 'the old Kuninda type of deer, tree, river, etc.' on the reverse of these pieces, they can reasonably be

- attributed to the Kunindas. For details of all these Kuninda coins, see *THAI*, pp. 90ff.
- ⁶ Alexander Cunningham connected the Kunindas with the Kunets or Kanets of the present-day, who formed the bulk of the population in Kulu Valley and all the hill districts around Simla. See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 71; Cunningham (ed.), *Report of Archaeological Survey of India* (henceforth *CASR*), XIV, p. 126.
 - ⁷ *Bharatiya Vidya*, XXII, p. 46.
 - ⁸ For these literary references, see *THAI*, pp. 197ff.
 - ⁹ As many as 824 coins found at Muradnagar are now in the possession of a private collector of Meerut. Most of these coins are of Class III of Allan (*CCBM*, pp. 270ff.) and Classes III and IV of Dasgupta (*THAI*, pp. 202-08). A few interesting traits of the Muradnagar pieces lie in the cock-crested spear, and variegated head-gear and ornaments of Karttikeya as well as different postures of the god and his consort. *JNSI*, XXXV, 1973, pp. 91ff.
 - ¹⁰ For details of these different classes of coins, see *THAI*, pp. 201ff.
 - ¹¹ *CASR*, I, pp. 361ff. Also *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1921-22, pp. 120ff.; 1923-24, pp. 172-74 and *Indian Archaeology*, A Review, 1953-54, p. 9; 1954-55, pp. 16-18; 1955-56, pp. 20-22; 1956-57, pp. 28-29; 1957-58, pp. 47-49; 1958-59, pp. 46-47.
 - ¹² For details of these coins, see *CCBM*, pp. 148ff.; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (henceforth *CCIM*), p. 155, *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India* (1968, henceforth *SPLCNI*), pp. 36ff.
 - ¹³ The Magha dynasty is so called because names of most of its members end in *Magha*. While stray coins of Magha kings are reported from time to time at Kausambi and its neighbourhood, altogether four hoards of Magha coins have so far been found. The findspots of these hoards are Saton (Fatepur district), Orha (Banda district), Kausambi and Allahabad. Nothing is known about the second and third hoards, while coins of the last one are now being studied by Dr. A.M. Sastri, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, 1976, 1, pp. 64ff. For the Saton hoard, see *JNSI*, II, 1940, pp. 95ff.
 - ¹⁴ This coin, belonging to the fourth hoard, now in the possession of a private collector, has been noticed by Dr. A. M. Shastri in *JNSI*, XXXVIII, 1, p. 57. The Kausambi hoard is also reported to have contained a piece on which the legend has been read as *Rajamagha* (*ibid.*, p. 54). The full legend is very likely *Maharaja-Magha*.
 - ¹⁵ *JNSI*, XI, 1949, p. 13, Pl. III. 6.
 - ¹⁶ See, for instance, S. Chattopadhyay, *Early History of North India* (1st edition, 1958), p. 156, fn. 81; P. L. Gupta, *Coins* (1969), p. 40. B. P. Sinha objects to this identification on the ground that 'Prayaga was already included in the ancestral kingdom of Samudragupta and could not have a ruling dynasty other than the Gupta at that time'.

- Comprehensive History of Bihar* (ed. B. P. Sinha), I, part 2, 1974, p. 26.
- ¹⁷ Bela Lahiri also doubts about his association with Kausambi, *Indigenous States of Northern India* (hereinafter *ISNI*, 1974), p. 139.
- ¹⁸ For details about Ayodhya coinage, see *CCBM*, pp. 129ff ; *CCIM*, pp. 148ff ; *SPLCNI*, pp. 33ff.
- ¹⁹ D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (2nd edition, 1965), p. 140.
- ²⁰ The passage, as occurring in the *Vayu Purana*, runs thus : *Anuganga Prayagamscha Saketam Magadhanstatha/etan janapadan sarvan bhokshyante Gupta-Vamsajah* //.
- ²¹ *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, 1.50. J. W. McCrindle's edition (reprint, New Delhi, n.d.), p. 129. The other form by which the Greeks knew it is *Methora*.
- ²² The invasion of Saketa, Panchala, Mathura and Kusumadhvaja (Pataliputra or a place to its west) by the Yavanas, apparently the Bactrian Greeks, probably took place shortly after the death of Maurya Salisuka about 200 B.C.
- ²³ For the coins of the Hindu chiefs of Mathura, see *CCBM*, pp. 169ff ; *CCIM*, pp. 192ff ; *SPLCNI*, pp. 41ff.
- ²⁴ *ISNI*, pp. 153ff.
- ²⁵ Allan postulates the existence of two Gomitras on numismatic grounds. *Op. cit.*, pp. cviii-ix.
- ²⁶ The dating is corroborated by recent excavations at Sonkh near Mathura where at level 28 Mathura coinage first comes to view ; these are the two issues of Gomitra. The level has been assigned to about 100 B.C. by the excavator. See H. Hartel, 'Some results of the excavations at Sonkh' in *German Scholars on India* (henceforth *GSI*) II, 1976, p. 80.
- ²⁷ D. C. Sircar regards the Mitra and Datta rulers as the predecessors and successors of the Saka Satraps respectively. In his words, the Dattas 'may have been the vassals of the Kushanas and flourished about the second century A.D., after the extirpation of the Sakas of Mathura'. *Age of the Imperial Unity* (ed. R. C. Majumdar, henceforth *AIU*, 3rd impression, 1960), p. 171. Sircar's view is not acceptable for two reasons. First, the coins of the Mitras and the Dattas belong to the same numismatic conception and form a homogeneous series ; second, in the excavated sites, such as, Rupar (Punjab), Purana Qila (Delhi), Hastinapur and Sonkh, which have yielded Mathura coins, not a single specie of the Datta chiefs has been found in association with the Kushana coins at the same level. As Hartel, who has excavated at Sonkh, observes : "D. C. Sircar's dating of the Dattas subsequent to that of the Ksatrapas, i.e., into the Kusana time could not be confirmed at Sonkh". *GSI*, pp. 83-84.
- ²⁸ Allan has noticed two other coins bearing the legend *Rajna(h)-Balabhutisa* (*op. cit.*, p. 178, Pl. XLIII, 19-20), which according to

him, represent a member of a separate dynasty on account of their differences with the specie of his namesake. These two issues, as pointed out by Allan, are typologically connected with the coin of one Gomitra (who is of a dynasty different from that of Gomitra I and II), *op. cit.*, pp. cix, 169, Pl. XXV, 3.

The name of Balabhuti reminds us of Vatsiputra Vadhapala Dhana-bhuti known from a Mathura inscription (A. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, 1879, pp. 16, 130, Pl. LIII, 4; H. Luders', 'A List of Brahmi inscriptions' in *Epigraphia Indica*, X, Appendix, p. 22, inscription no. 125) and Dhanabhuti of the Bharhut inscriptions (Cunningham, *loc. cit.*). Whether the Mathura- and Bharhut- Dhana-bhutis are identical, it is not definite. However, it is not unlikely that Balabhuti was a member of the line of Dhanabhuti, though no coin of Dhanabhuti has so far come to light. Other *bhuti*-ending names are recognisable in the Kuninda king Amoghabhuti and the Almora chief Mrigabhuti.

²⁹ For the Apalata coin, see *CCBM*, pp. lxxxi-ii, cx, 182, Pl. XXIX, 24.

³⁰ H. Hartel in *GSI*, p. 85.

³¹ For coins of Rajuvula, Sodasa, etc., see *CCBM*, pp. 183ff; *CCIM*, pp. 195ff.

According to a set of scholars, Rajuvula succeeded Hagamasha and Hagana (e.g., E. J. Rapson in *Cambridge History of India*, I, Indian reprint, 1962, p. 474; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, 1950, p. 445; and J. E. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, 1949, p. 336). J. N. Banerjea, after a careful study of all the relevant coins, place Rajuvula prior to other Satraps of Mathura. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1948, and *Comprehensive History of India* (ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri), pp. 268-69. D.C. Sircar endorses the view of J. N. Banerjea. See *AIU*, pp. 134-35.

³² This piece was noticed by Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cxli. For an attempt to read the legend *Toranadasa* or *Bharanadasa* as *Sonadasa*, a variant of *Somadasa* (=Sodasa), see *JNSI*, XXXVII, 1975, pp. 147-49. This new reading, however, is not beyond doubt.

³³ B. N. Mukherjee has recently noticed a round copper coin with a Brahmi legend on its obverse which he reads as *Khatapasa Vajatatajama*; it bears on its obverse a tree-in-railing with a wavy line on right and a symbol comparable with the Gondopharian symbol and on the reverse a horse prancing to right. Typologically, it is not akin to the specie of the Saka Satraps and therefore Mukherjee suggests that this Vajatatajama coin is to be placed after the joint coinage of Hagana and Hagamasha, with a very short interval between them. *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, April, 1975.

³⁴ The coins of Hagana, Hagamasha, Sivadatta and Sivaghosha, appear

to have belonged to one group. As said above, the issuers came after Rajuvula and Sodasa (and perhaps after the so-called Toranadasa). It has been suggested that the Rajuvula group was followed by Sivadatta and Sivaghosha and the latter by Hagamasha and Hagana. B. N. Mukherjee, 'Chronology of Saka-Pahlava rule in Mathura', mimeographed copy of the paper presented at the *Seminar on Pre-Kushana History and Art of Mathura*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 13. But there is no strong ground for this suggestion.

- ³⁵ See J. Ph. Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1908-09, pp. 159ff; B. N. Puri in *Journal of Indian History*, XX, 1941, pp. 137ff; B. C. Law in the *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society* XXXII, p. 5. For a connected account of the Naga rulers, see *AIU*, pp. 168ff; and *ISNI*, pp. 166ff, 295ff. For the Puranic evidence relating to the Naga rule in Mathura as noticed above, see F. E. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53 (text) and p. 73 (translation).
- ³⁶ For Naga coins, see *CCIM*, pp. 178ff. And also H. V. Trivedi's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati* (1957), in addition to his several articles on the Naga coinage in different volumes of *JNSI* (e.g., XIII, XIV, XV, XVII, etc.).
- ³⁷ J. F. Fleet (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 7.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ Translation by Cowell and Thomas, Ch. VI, p. 192.
- ⁴⁰ A fourth-century copper seal hailing from Lahore refers to prince Mahesvaranaga, son of Maharaja Nagabhatta, see *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 282. K. P. Jayaswal identifies this Nagabhatta with Nagadatta and suggests that he belonged to Srughna (Sugh near Ludhiana, Punjab) family of the Nagas, *History of India*, 1933, p. 34.
- ⁴¹ For Sisuchandradatta's coin, see *CCBM*, p. 280, Pl. XLV, 13.
- ⁴² For Virasena's coins, see *CCBM*, p. 281, Pl. XLV, 16; *CCIM*, pp. 191-92, 197, Pl. XXII, 14-15. K. P. Jayaswal took Virasena to be the second ruler of the Naga dynasty of Kantipuri (wrongly identified by him with Kantit between Mirzapur and Vindhyachal), *op. cit.*, pp. 18-23, 35. But the combined testimony of the character of the script of his coin-legends and Jankhat inscription shows that in all probability Virasena flourished in the latter part of the third century. That he cannot be regarded as founder of any of the Naga houses of Padmavati, Kantipuri or Mathura is implied in the Puranic statement that there were at least seven generations of Naga princes at Mathura before Samudragupta.
- ⁴³ *Epigraphia Indica*, XI, pp. 85ff.
- ⁴⁴ The Yavana invasion of Panchala along with Saketa and Mathura has already been referred to above. See fn. 22.
- ^{44a} The evidence of the Kushana occupation of Abichchhatra is furnished by epigraphic and numismatic materials. See *Epigraphia Indica*, X,

- pp. 115-16 ; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XXI, 1955, p. 67.
- ⁴⁵ Panchala coinage has been described, *inter alia*, in *CCBM*, pp. 192ff ; *CCIM*, pp. 186ff ; *SPLCNI*, pp. 44ff.
- ⁴⁶ For *Achyu* (i.e., *Achyuta*) coins, see *CCBM*, pp. 117ff, *CCIM*, pp. 188-89.
- ⁴⁷ Almora coins have been described by Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
- ⁴⁸ For this view of P. L. Gupta, see *JNSI*, XIII, p. 142. Later, Gupta described these coins as the local issues of Sravasti, *SPLCNI*, pp. 149-50.
- ⁴⁹ *THAI*, p. 96.
- ⁵⁰ *Indian Archaeology*, A Review, 1955-56, p. 19.
- ⁵¹ *CCBM*, p. 147, Pl. XIX, 13.
- ⁵² *JNSI*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 188-89, Pl. III, 5. Another piece noticed in the same journal (XXV, 1963, p. 293, Pl. I, 8) may also belong to this ruler. K. D. Bajpai, who has brought this coin of Sungavarma to light, on the ground of its alleged discovery at Kausambi, is inclined to regard the issuer as a ruler of Kausambi and assigns all Kanauj coins, including the specie of Vishnudeva, to Kausambi ; but at the same time he suggests that Kanauj was included in the kingdom of Mathura or Panchala, since there is no evidence that the Kausambi rulers maintained their hold over Kanauj (*JNSI*, XXVII, p. 189). If all the Kanauj coins belong to Kausambi, the former is likely to have been included in the kingdom of Kausambi, and then how can it be taken as a part of Mathura or Panchala ? It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that Sungavarma was a ruler of Kanauj, notwithstanding the fact that his specie has been found at Kausambi, which might have been carried there by an individual.
- Equally untenable is the view of P. L. Gupta, according to whom, the coins of Sungavarma, Vishnudeva and the Mitra rulers attributed to Kanauj are interrelated to the coins of Ahichchatra, that is Panchala, on account of the similarity of fabric and type and hence they might belong to Dakshina Panchala, which covered the region around Kanauj (*SPLCNI*, p. 150).
- ⁵³ Coins with the name of Suryamitra have been found at different places, such as Kanauj, Mathura, Panchala and Rairh (Rajasthan). For a discussion of the identity of these Suryamitras, see *THAI*, pp. 179ff.
- ⁵⁴ *JNSI*, XII, 1950, pp. 134-35, Pl. XI, 5-6.
- ⁵⁵ *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, V, p. 19, Pl. II, c. The legend on three coins of the British Museum read as *Pu(nga)sena* by Allan (*CCBM*, p. 279, nos. 5-7, Pl. XLV, 12) may be read as *Yugasena*.
- ⁵⁶ *GSI*, pp. 80-81.

SOURCE MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF KUMAON*

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THE OBJECT of this paper is to show the nature and availability of source-materials, their dependability or general value, as also to indicate some of the problems and tasks facing the historian of Kumaon.

The history of Kumaon at present consists of a number of unrelated chapters which it is not easy to connect in a chronological framework, so as to weave a continuous story of development. A brief historical sketch seems necessary to show the wide gaps in our sources.

I. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Pre-history of the central Himalayas is almost unexplored, though for the evidence of early man here, there may be pointers from the western Himalayas. We know very little of the nature and sequence of the racial migrations into the central Himalayas which have produced the people and their culture.

The Epics do make frequent references to the holy Himalaya, its tribes and its sacred places. The Pandavas belonged to the Himalayas. The sacred spots of Badari and Kedara and the source of the Ganga were well-known. It is clear that in the post-Vedic period this region belonged to the mainstream of Indian history.

Asoka's Kalsi inscription (third century B.C.) throws the

* Kumaon, for this paper, includes Garhwal, except Medieval Garhwal.

first spotlight on this area which appears to have been on the Mauryan frontier. After Kalsi, almost eleven centuries later, the first dated records are the Pandukesvar copper-plates of Lalitapura Katyuri (c. 853-54 according to Kielhorn). Between the decline of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas, numismatic evidence shows the region to have been ruled by the Kunindas, the Yaudheyas and the Kushanas, possibly also the Indo-Greeks. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Yaudheyas, though not the Kunindas. It also refers to the border kingdom of Karttipura. If this stands for Karttikeyapura (Bajinath, Almora), a hill dynasty—Kuninda, Khasa or Katyuri—must have been ruling there in the time of Samudragupta.

A number of dynasties are known from inscriptions which can be approximately dated on palaeographic grounds: the Yadavas of Simhapura and possibly of Jagatram also (fourth-seventh centuries), the Pauravas of Brahmapura (fifth-sixth centuries), and the obscure dynasty of Lakhamandal (fifth century). Their contemporaneity or sequence is not clear. Hiuen-Tsang noted the kingdoms of Govisana, Matipura, Brahmapura, Srughna and Suvarnagotra in his time. Evidently there was much history about them, but the present materials are inadequate for reconstructing the same.

Rahul Sankrityayan thought that Kumaon was under Tibetan rule during the seventh century after its conquest by Srong-tsan-gampo (629-647 A.D.). The national monarchy of Kumaon was the Katyuri, commencing c. 790 A.D. (D.C. Sircar's date), or traditionally a century earlier. The Katyuris were probably of indigenous Khasa origin. Always held in high popular esteem, they forged the cultural unity of Kumaon in course of a long rule of four and a half centuries. They were great builders and all the existing monuments are traditionally attributed to them.

The Katyuris ruled first at Joshimath and later at Bajinath (both places known as Karttikeyapura) till about 1150 A.D. After their decline, Kumaon was parcelled out into petty sovereignties, leading to the rise of the Chands in Kumaon and the Panwars in Garhwal about the end of the twelfth century.

The credit goes to them for creating unified kingdoms in their respective areas, and the separate personalities of Kumaon and Garhwal. But the basic identity, a gift of the Katyuris, must not be lost sight of. Two rulers of western Nepal, Asokachalla and Krachalla, conquered Kumaon in 1191 and 1223, finally shattering what remained of Katyuri power.

Henceforward, the *Vamsavalis* (genealogical lists) are our main source for determining the succession of rulers. They are traditional, often inflated, and partly fabricated. Fortunately, there are also dated land-grants of the rulers. The Chands and the Panwars ruled right up to the Gurkha conquest in 1790. By the Treaty of Sagauli (Nov. 28, 1815), the Gurkhas ceded Kumaon to the British. It may be added that Kumaon was never under Muslim rule.

Following the usual practice, we may demarcate the ancient period up to 1200 A.D., the medieval from 1200 A.D. to 1815, and the modern from 1815 to 1901 when Kumaon practically ceased to be a non-Regulation province.

II. SOURCE-MATERIALS

Ancient Period—Primary Sources

1. Literature

Sanskrit literature (especially the Epics, the Puranas and Brihat Samhita) throws considerable light on the Himalayan tribes, e.g., the Kiratas, Khasas, Kulindas, etc., and their location and habits. Classical authors (Herodotus, Pliny and Ptolemy) give interesting accounts of the city of Kaspatyrus in the extreme north 'where men are sent forth to procure gold' (the reference is to the Khasas), the gold-bearing ants, and the Amazonian kingdom (Stri-rajya, Suvarnagotra noticed by Hiuen-Tsang). The Kedara-khanda and Manasa-khanda sections of the Skanda Purana furnish topographical data, but they are medieval interpolations. The Manasa-khanda is yet unpublished.

2. Inscriptions

Major inscriptions bearing on the history of Kumaon have been edited and published by competent scholars. They are :

- The Pandukesvar Copper Plate of Lalitasura (Kielhorn, *IA*, xxv, 177),
- Three C-P's from Pandukesvar (Sircar, *E.I.*, xxxi, 277),
- The two Talesvar copper-plates (Gupte, *E.I.*, xiii, 109),
- Lakhamandal Temple Prasasti (Buhler, *E.I.*, i, 10),
- The Lakhamandal Inscription (Chhabra, *Jl. of U.P. Hist. Soc.*, xvii, 80),
- The Jagatram Inscription (Ramachandran, *Jl. of Or. Res.*, Madras, xvi, 1).

A rough transcript and translation of the Bagesvar Stone inscription were published by Chakravorti in 1938 (*JASB*, vii, 1056). The stone is now lost, but was at one time examined by Sircar. It needs to be edited even from the defective transcript. This inscription is of crucial importance for the Katyuris. Asokachalla's Gopesvar and Barhat Trident Inscriptions were published long ago (*JASB*, v, 347, 485; *As Res*, 11, 477), but they need to be carefully edited from fresh facsimiles.

Major inscriptions which have not been edited so far are :

The Balesvar C-P of Desata-deva, and

Krachalla's Inscription on the reverse of the same C-P.

A number of minor inscriptions have been edited or published, but the short inscriptions at Jagesvar, Baijnath, Dwarahat and Champawat, though noticed by Hargreaves, have not been published from accurate facsimiles.

3. Coins

Coins are often the sole evidence, e.g., for the Kunindas, the Yaudheyas and the Kushanas. They have been discussed by Rapson, Cunningham and Allan ; Kala, *JNSI*, viii, 36 ; Nautiyal, *JNSI*, xxiii, 375 ; *JNSI*, xxiv, 181.

The most recent study of tribal coins is that by K. K. Das Gupta : *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach* (Calcutta, 1974). No Gupta coins have been found in Kumaon so far ; in fact, no coins of the Katyuris later than those of the Kushanas and tribal coins.

4. *Chinese Travellers*

Only Hiuen-Tsang visited Kumaon. His account of the hill kingdoms offers valuable hints which archaeology must now test in detail. It has not been possible to locate so far Srughna or Brahmapura definitively.

5. *Local traditions of Kumaon*

These are partly oral (surviving in folklore, songs and proverbs), and partly embodied in family lists, especially of the later Katyuris of Askot, Doti and Dwarahat. But tradition can both guide and misguide. Tradition, unsupported by other evidence, is unreliable.

Ancient Period—Secondary Sources

1. *Reports of Archaeological explorations*

Cunningham : *ASI*, Vols. I, III, XIV ;

ASI, AR : 1911 to 1930 ;

Annual Reports, Northern Circle, 1913-14, 1915-16 ;

Fuhrer : *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North-West Provinces and Oudh* (1819).

2. *Surveys*

The basic work is by E. T. Atkinson, now reprinted under the title *Himalayan Gazetteer* (Delhi, 1972). Volume II furnishes history. The first edition of this work appeared between 1881 and 1884. Atkinson examined all the materials available to him and subjected them to a thorough scrutiny and analysis. He, however, pinned too much faith in recorded tradition and took great pains to sift it, including the fairy tales of Firishta. The work is almost a primary source, because many of the sources of information utilised by Atkinson are no longer available. Surveys by B. D. Pande, Rahul, Dabral and Nautiyal have drawn heavily on Atkinson. Dabral's work in Hindi (*Uttara-khand Ka Itihas*) is very significant. Nautiyal's *Archaeology of Kumaon* is the best short survey in English and gives a working bibliography.

Medieval Period—Primary sources

1. There is a very large number of land-grants (copper plates) made by the Chand princes. They furnish interesting details on administrative and revenue systems, religion and customs, besides important dates.

2. *The Vamsavalis* (genealogical lists)

Atkinson examined three separate lists for the Chands. It is not known for certain how old are these lists and who maintained them; probably these were maintained by the family bards (the Charans). T. D. Gairola's judgment of the Garhwal lists that they are "traditional and historically inaccurate" applies equally to the Kumaon lists. In both Kumaon and Garhwal, the need was felt to attach a dignified antiquity to the ruling families. Hence the fiction that they both belonged to the lunar race and that Soma Chand, the founder of the Chand dynasty, had come from Jhusi (near Allahabad) in 742 or 757 V.S. (traditional variants), i.e., 685 or 700 A.D.; whereas Kanak Pal, the founder of the Panwar dynasty of Garhwal, had come from Dhara city in Malwa in 755 V.S. (again a traditional date), i.e., in 699 A.D. Each prince came on pilgrimage (for Soma Chand, an alternative version says that he was invited), married the daughter of the local ruler and settled down to sovereignty. The two legends are very similar. Both show lunar origin. The dates are very close. Both are connected with the illustrious Rajput dynasties of North India, of Kanauj and Malwa. Both legends may be fictions, or it may also be that one of the two is true, and the other a fabrication and a copy.

On analysis, the traditional dates of the founders appear to be impossible. Around 700 A.D., the Katyuris were just beginning to rule; whereas the tradition of the *Vamsavalis* says that Soma Chand, the founder of the Chand dynasty in Kumaon, married the daughter of the last Katyuri king in Kali Kumaon. For the Panwar (Parmar) dynasty of Garhwal also, the date looks impossible. Kanak Pal, the founder, is supposed to have come from Dhara in Malwa; but in 700 A.D., there was no Dhara and the Parmar dynasty had not risen in Malwa yet. The Garhwal lists are hopelessly replete with discrepancies.

Yet these lists cannot be rejected straightaway. They have some utility and they can be corrected with the aid of other evidence, especially the land-grants.

3. *Local traditions of Kumaon*

Some of these are found in the *Vamsavalis*, others preserved in the oral tradition, in songs and stories. For the Chands, B. D. Pande has narrated these in his work *Kumaon Ka Itihas*.

4. Abul Fazl in the *Ain* describes the Sarkar Kumaun which comprised 21 Mahals yielding a revenue of 4 Karor dams. But 5 Mahals, evidently mountainous, yielded no revenue. It is Atkinson's surmise that all the Mahals lay along the foot of the hills, i.e., in Terai and Bhabar.

Medieval Period—Secondary Sources

Dynastic histories of the Chands and the Panwars are being covered by doctoral theses presented to the Kumaun University and they are expected to be published soon.

Modern Period (1815-1901)

The Chand dynasty ended with the Gurkha conquest in 1790. Its long career of almost eleven centuries (if we accept the epoch of 700 A.D.) is incredible. Even if 1178 A.D. (the date given by Harsh Dev Joshi to Frazer in 1813) be taken as the beginning of Chand rule in Kumaon, the length of the rule seems remarkable. The Panwar dynasty continued in native Garhwal even after 1815, but we are not concerned with it here. For Kumaon (including British Garhwal) we shall limit our observations to 1901 when Kumaon practically lost its character as a non-Regulation province, though in revenue matters it continued to receive special treatment.

Modern Period—Primary Sources

There is a mass of official papers and unofficial literature.

1. The following official papers are noteworthy :

Select Records, North-Western Provinces, Vols. I, II, V, XLIII, XLIV, XLVI;

Official Reports on the Province of Kumaon, by J. H. Batten (Agra, 1851) ;

Reports on the successive settlements of Kumaon, especially those by Batten, 1863 (ninth settlement, 1842-46) ; Backet, 1870 (tenth settlement, 1863-73) ; Goudge, 1903 (revised settlement).

An earlier report was that by Mr. Bird entitled 'Report on the Settlements of N. W. Provinces' (1842).

2. Contemporary unofficial literature

There are works in Sanskrit and Kumaoni or Garhwali, especially the poetical works of Guman Pant and Molaram Tomar. Guman offers crisp comments on his times and on a variety of topics. Molaram was a fairly good historian, besides being a great painter. His poetical work, *Garh-raj-vamsa-kavya*, delineates the history of the Garhwal dynasty and is authoritative for his period. His date, according to Mukandi Lal, is 1843-1933. Periodicals like the *Almora Akhbar*, the *Shakti*, the *Kumaun Kumud* and the *Achal* are important for the nineteenth century history of Kumaon.

Modern Period—Secondary Sources

1. The Gazetteers of Almora, Nainital, British Garhwal and Dehra Dun give a historical account, but this is based on Atkinson's monumental work noted above.

2. P. Whalley, *Laws of the Non-Regulation Provinces* (Allahabad, 1870) ; V. A. Stowell, *A Manual of the Land Tenures of the Kumaon Division*.

3. A recent thesis done in Kumaun University on 'The Administration of Sir Henry Ramsay in Kumaon, 1856-84' may be published soon. Ramsay was in charge of Kumaon during the crucial period beginning with the Mutiny. He embodied the non-Regulation spirit. He left his impress on every aspect of Kumaon's life and administration.

Final reflections

Kumaon is a virgin field for the archaeologist and the historian. Systematic excavation and intensive exploration will

provide fresh clues and answers to the questions unresolved today. The archaeology of Kumaon is yet unborn.

For Kumaoni folklore, good studies by Upreti (1894), Oakley (1917) and Gairola (1934) have appeared. Dr Dharendra Sharma is working on the 'Linguistic Geography of Kumaon'. But there is no critical study on social history. The sculptural art and architecture of Kumaon have received only piece-meal treatment by the scholars.

Medieval Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH

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It is a paradox that U.P. as it exists today had no history in the Medieval period and yet it had a history of its own. It had no history in the sense that like Bengal, Bihar, and the Panjab it was not a well-defined parochial, political or administrative unit; and it had a history of its own in the sense of its imperial and universal outlook which made it the nucleus of the power of the various dynasties which ruled Northern India from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the fall of the house of the Mughals. And during this long span of several centuries only two independent kingdoms flourished in this region: the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur in the fifteenth century and the kingdom of Avadh in the eighteenth century. For the history of the Sharqi kingdom there is hardly much which may be called as contemporary source-material; but for the kingdom of Avadh there is plenty of such material, most of which has been utilised by the late Dr. Ashirvadi Lal Srivastav. It may be incidentally noted that this region was better known as the Doab. Babar has given the revenue figures of Miyan-Doab.

But before indicating the nature of the source-material on the history of this region, it would be in the fitness of things to indicate its political dimensions. In the Sultanat period, for about three centuries its western limit was Delhi and its dependency Mewat. Its southern boundary may be demarcated by an undulating line having on its periphery Ranthambhor, Nagaur, Kalinjar (portions of Bundelkhand) marching right up to Kara

on the Ganges. The eastern limit was the modern town of Balliah and the northern boundary was the sub-mountain tract of the Himalayas. But it is very difficult to mark out the administrative divisions of this area. Subsequently, under the Mughals the picture became clearer and it may be stated without any fear of contradiction that U.P. included the Mughal subahs of Delhi, Agra, Avadh and Allahabad.

And it is in the light of these political and administrative dimensions that the source-material may be discussed and classified. It may be emphasised again that this material is a part of the history of the empires and dynasties which appeared and disappeared in Northern India. For the sake of convenience the span of six centuries is generally divided into two periods : (1) the Sultanat period 1206-1526, and (2) the Mughal period 1526-1857. In any case the history of U.P. is inextricably linked with the imperial history of Delhi and Agra and practically all material relevant to the latter is pertinent to it.

This source-material has been classified in the various monographs and dynastic histories which have been published. It consists of : (a) general chronicles, (b) the accounts of foreign travellers, (c) the poems of eminent poets, and (d) the *mulfuzat* of saints. It was only in the Mughal period that Europeans, especially the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English, visited some parts of U.P. and that too without the specific purpose of paying any special attention to the conditions obtaining here. Ibn Batuta came here in the fourteenth century and travelled extensively.

The first real historian of the Sultanat period is Shams-Siraj Afif. Although he has not much to say about U.P. in his description of the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud, there are references to the campaigns in the Doab, Mewat, and Ranthambhor and to the activities of Qutlugh Khan, the defiant governor of Awadh.

The next historian Ziauddin Barani evidently belonged to U.P. His record of events from the advent of Balban to power to the first six years of the reign of Firuz Tughlaq is replete with references to U.P. Balban's resumption of the *iqtas* of the

Doab, his march to Doab and Awadh, his suppression of the Mewatis, his ruthless campaigns in Katehar and its contiguous areas of Kampil and Patiali have been carefully noted. Similarly, in relation to the Khiljis he has described the rebellion of Malik Chhajju of Kara who was joined by Amir Ali Hatim Khan of Awadh and other assignees in the east, the conspiracy of Ali Gurshasp at Kara, the murder of Jalaluddin at Kara, and Alauddin's fiscal reforms in the Doab. In fact, the Doab, which is and was the most fertile tract of U.P. and consequently rebellious, attracted the attention of every ruler. Muhammad Tughlaq carried out his fiscal and agricultural experiments there and also suppressed rebellions. The same holds true of his successor Firuz Shah.

The narrative of Barani is continued by Shams Siraj Afif and is confirmed and at places elucidated and expanded by Isami in his *Fatuh-us-Salatin*. Amir Khusrau has laid the scene of his *Qiran-us-Sadain*, the first historical *masnavi*, in Awadh. His other works are replete with references to U.P.

The battle of Lahrawat was fought within the striking distance of Delhi. It has been fully described in the *Tughlaq-namah* and has relevance to U.P. The crown changed hands. The Tughlaqs replaced the Khiljis.

The Tughlaq dynasty yielded place to the Sayyids who were throughout their period of ascendancy engaged either in suppressing rebellions in Katehar, Badaun, Etawah, Patiali, Kampil and Mewat or fighting with the Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur. So were their historians. Thus Yahya's *Tarikh-Mubarak Shahi* is a very useful record for the history of U.P. because it describes the Sayyid-Sharqi conflict. The last of the Sayyids, Sultan Alauddin, made Badaun the permanent seat of his residence and ruled an area from Khizabad on the banks of the Ganges up to the foot of the Himalayas till his death in 1476. The gap between the death of Mubarak and Alauddin is filled by Nizamuddin, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*.

The last of the dynasties of Sultans to rule over Northern India was that of the Lodi Afghans. Unfortunately, however,

they had no contemporary historian to record their achievements and failures. The main authorities on the basis of which the history of this dynasty has been reconstructed were compiled in the seventeenth century. And they are Shaikh Rizaqullah Mustaqi's *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, Abdullatin's *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Shahi* and Muhammad Kabir bin Shaikh Ismail's *Afsanah-i-Shahan-i-Hind*.

Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi has vividly recorded the story of the Lodi-Sharqi conflict which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Jaunpur in the time of Sikandar ; but the worries of the latter did not cease and Jaunpur remained a storm-centre for some more time to come. The details are more or less repeated in other works cited above, but they throw a flood of light on the history of U.P.

Like the Lodi dynasty, the Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur, notwithstanding its highly developed cultural and political atmosphere, did not attract the attention of any outstanding contemporary historian. However, in recent times attempts have been made to reconstruct the role of the Sharqi dynasty by piecing together information from general histories like *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, etc. Mr. Iqbal Ahmad's book *Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur* is no better than a gazetteer ; but the value of the information contained in it cannot be denied. Its description of the activities of Sufi saints is very elucidating. In the *Comprehensive History of India*, published by the Indian History Congress, reference is made to an unpublished thesis on the subject approved for the Ph.D. Degree by the University of London ; a similar thesis was submitted to the University of Delhi.

In another corner of U.P. is situated Kalpi on the Jamuna. It commands the route to Bundelkhand and Malwa. It enjoyed a great strategical importance in this period, which can be appreciated from the work of Muhammad Bihamad Khan. Its name is *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. In it we come across the details of a tiny state which was founded by Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah. It became a rendezvous for the Ulemas and Sheikhs who migrated from Delhi after its sack by Timur and the consequent anarchy there.

This brief survey of the authorities bearing on the history of U.P. in the Sultanat period is too inadequate to present a graphic picture and too flimsy to be very informative. In fact, the information available in these sources has to be pieced together logically and chronologically in order to define and elucidate the glorious record of the region which was the axle and hub of the activities of the successive imperial dynasties.

But in the case of the Mughal period this drawback has been rectified to a large extent by Dr. S. N. Sinha who has written an account of the Subah of Allahabad and by Dr. (Kumari) Neelima Priyadarshini who has dealt with the history of U.P. under the Great Mughals. They have laid under contribution a wide range of source-material which can be easily summarised.

Dr. Neelima's work is a very exhaustive survey covering every aspect of life in U.P. from 1526 to 1707. It is divided into fourteen chapters, out of which seven are devoted to political developments and the rest to subjects like administration, social life, agriculture and industries, economic life, religious conditions, education, learning and literature, and buildings and monuments.

She has taken pains to support her conclusions and statements with the evidence she has so assiduously collected from well-known Persian sources like *Babar-Namah*, *Memoirs of Bayazid and Gulbadan Begum*, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar, Abul Fazal's *Akbarnamah*, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Badaoni's *Muntakhabul-Tawarikh*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Mutamid Khan's *Iqbal Namah*, *Padshah Namahs* of Qazvini, Lahauri and Waris, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan, *Alamgir-namah* of Muhammad Kazim, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* of Mustaid Khan, *Maasir-ul-Umra* of Shahnawaz Khan, *Khulas-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Bhandari and many others.

Nor has she left untouched the foreign travellers who visited India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She has made full use of relevant information furnished by Hawkins, Finch, Roe, Xavier, John Twist, Dr. Zart, Monserrate, Della Valle, Manucci, Manrique, Tavernier, Bernier, Thevenot, William Morris, Peter Mundy and others. Those names have been cited not to add to numbers, but because in their accounts there is

much which relates to U.P. It has been carefully analysed and integrated by Dr. Neelima Priyadarshini. It is not feasible to recapitulate it, because of the inadequacy of space. Suffice it to remember that U.P. in this period was the heart and core of the Mughal empire. From it branched off arteries through which flowed the life-blood of power which kept under control the eastern, western, northern and southern regions of the empire.

It may be interesting to note that it was during this period that colonies of warlike Afghans were planted in the central region of U.P. to subvert the rebellious activities of local refractory chiefs. The Rohillas were assigned lands in Katehar and Kanth of Gola; the Bangashes in Patiali, Kampil and the adjacent districts and the Shaikhzadahs in and around Avadh. The posting of these tribes fulfilled the twofold purpose of maintaining a balance of local influence and suppression of the spirit of insubordination, and secondly that of promoting cultural integration. In course of time when the empire began to decline the Rohillas and the Bangashes established their own states and played significant political roles which have been duly recorded.

In addition to Persian official and non-official records, there is another source for the history of U.P. It comprises the records of the Mahdawi and Sufi movements. Jaunpur was the storm centre of the former. Shaikh Abdullah Niazi and Shaikh Ali spear-headed the Mahdawi propaganda during the reign of Akbar. Mahdawi *diaras* were centres of popular attraction, but they were also replete with valuable religio-historical records. Such *diaras* were mostly spread over the eastern regions of U.P. and some of them have continued their existence.

But more popular were the Sufis. They belonged to the Chisti, Qadri, Naqshbandi, Shiallari and other minor orders. They were dotted over the entire region and had their hospices in various towns and cities like Jaunpur, Bahraich, Narwal, Fatehpur Sikri, Manikpur, Kairabad, Sultanpur, Kalpi, Bilgram, Lucknow, Jais, Akbarabad, Sandilah, Saharanpur, Amroha, Sambhal and other places. Badaoni has given a long list of

these saints with brief sketches of their lives. Likewise Lahauri at the close of his first volume of *Padshah-namah* has referred to a number of Shaikhs and Ulemas. Moreover, there are separate anthologies describing the life work of saints and scholars who by their precept and example influenced the social, religious and intellectual life of U.P.

Parallel to the *Mulfuzats* (utterances) of Sufi saints are the *Vartas* of the Vaishnavas. Two of them are of paramount importance—the *Varta* of 252 Vaishnavas and that of 84 Vaishnavas. They depict the life of the devotees of Krishna and incidentally reproduce the contemporary religious atmosphere. Add to these the *Ardha Katha* of Banarsi Das Jain which is rich in details of various types.

Nor can we ignore the fragmentary information conveyed by Persian poets about the social and political life of this period. Amir Khusrau, Amir Hasan, and Badr-i-Chach flourished in the Sultanat period. Their works have been utilised by researchers. In the Mughal period the odes and *ghazals* of distinguished poets delineate either *mazazi* or *haqiqi* love, but some of them have also composed verses describing either historical events or chronogram expressing the dates of birth of royal children or construction of buildings or felicitations for the emperor on auspicious days, festivals of Ids, occasions of military victories or other such topics.

Similarly, Hindi poets of this period dealt with various topics of popular interest, both religious and secular. Jaisi's *Padmavat*, though an allegory, centres round historical figures which have been identified by some leading scholars of Hindi language and literature. Tulsi and Sur, though primarily devotees of Rama and Krishna, have voluntarily or involuntarily referred to the details of social customs and practices, primarily because they were deemed to be a part of religion. Deva and Bhushan have pointedly referred to political events. Another work of the same type is *Chhatraprakash* which deals with the history of the Bundelachs.

The *Akhbarat* (News Bulletins) of the Court of Aurangzib and his successors furnish information about day to day events in the empire, e.g., the uprising of the Zamindars of Allahabad.

the disorders created in Mathura by the Jats, the contumacy of the Zamindars of Chunar, Kharagarh, Arail, Banaras and Jaunpur. Though local in character they are relevant to the history of U.P.

An interesting side-light is thrown on the subject by the literary and religious activities of Dara Shikoh. He stayed at Banaras in order to translate the Upanishads into Persian with the assistance and cooperation of the local pandits. The translation has survived, but there is no account of the strenuous efforts involved in rendering it. A more comprehensive treatise on comparative religion is *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib*. It gives a vivid picture of the contemporary religious beliefs and practices. Epigraphical and Archaeological reports published by the Government of India form very valuable source-material for the history of this region.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century there occurs a radical change in the political, religious, economic, social and intellectual atmosphere of U.P. *paripassu* with the rest of India. It is a period of outburst of centrifugal tendencies, but unlike the fifteenth century not a period of darkness. It is marked by all-round hectic activities. The Rohillas, the Jats, the Bangashes, the Bundelahs raise their heads because of the clash of their mutual interests. Consequently, the basic material also becomes diversified. Broadly speaking Avadh and Rohilkhand are two areas which attracted the attention of contemporary historians and they were and are the heart of U.P. But this does not mean that the region had altogether separated itself from the Central political, administrative and cultural stream.

The imperial activities have been thoroughly discussed in one published and two unpublished works. Bahadur Shah's life has been dealt with at length by the late Udai Raj Chand in his thesis in Hindi which earned him the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Allahabad. Similarly Ashoka Kumar Chatterji's thesis on Farrukhsiyar earned for him a Doctorate Degree. Dr. Zahiruddin Malik has published his work on Mohammad Shah. All these works are the outcome of painstaking analysis of original material which consists of general

histories or topical descriptions of episodes in prose or verse.

Bahadur Shah, like his father, had to fight for the acquisition of the Mughal throne. His first conflict occurred with Azam Shah at Jajani in U.P. and this has been described or referred to by Khafi Khan, Iradat Khan, Muhammad Qasim, Ibrat Husain and in *Bahadur Shah-namah*. But after defeating Azam, Bahadur Shah's scene of activity shifts to Rajputana, the Panjab and the Deccan.

But after the tragic interregnum of Jahandar Shah U.P. once more becomes a centre of feverish activity. The political storm which had its first rumblings in Bihar rapidly enveloped the whole of the Northern region from Allahabad to Delhi. Thanks to the active support of the Sayyid Brothers, Farrukhsiyar came out victorious, but he was a victim of conspiracy and was done to death by his erstwhile benefactors. His pitiable end attracted the attention of many a historian. The *Ibratnamahs* of Mirza Muhammad bin Mutamid Khan, of Mir Muhammad Qasim, the history of *Shahadat* (martyrdom) of Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Ahsan Iqadi's work are in one way or the other relevant to the history of U.P. Nor should we in this context omit reference to the perpetrators of the despicable crime. Muhammad Saleh wrote a history of the Sayyid Brothers and in *Sahifai Iqbal* has been recorded the story of their fall.

Pertaining to the general stream of imperial politics there is a countless number of contemporary and non-contemporary sources. Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* has been extensively utilised for the events up to the reign of Muhammad Shah. Har Charan Das, a resident of Meerut, in his *Chahar Gulshan Shujai*, covers the period between Muhammad Shah and Alamgir II and gives also a narrative of the Nawabs of Awadh including Shuja-ud-Daulah. Rustam Ali Khan's *Tarikh-i-Hind* records the events up to the twenty-third year of Muhammad Shah's reign. He refers to the overthrow of the Sayyid Brothers and to the Wazir Nizamul-Mulk's campaign against the Rohillas. Shive Das of Lucknow in his *Shahnamah Munawwar Kalam* has not only recorded the events of the reign of Farrukhsiyar and

of the first four years of Muhammad Shah, but also day to day occurrences in the empire. The *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* is an anonymous work. It deals with the reign of Ahmad Shah and gives authentic details of his wars with Safdar Jang. Muhammad Hadi Khan Kanwar in his *Tazkirah-i-Salatin Chagtai* covers a very vast period; but the portion relevant for our purpose is the diary of events from the reign of Bahadur Shah to that of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shafi Warid, a native of Nagina in Sarkar Sambhal, wrote *Mirat-i-Waridat*. He has described the events personally witnessed by him. Mirza Muhammad bin Mutamad Khan in his *Tarikh-i-Muhammad* has given an account of the royal family, nobles, mansabdars and scholars of the eighteenth century. Muhammad Hazin has sketched the political condition of Northern India in the post-Nadir Shah period. Khairuddin in his *Ibratnamah* has given a detailed history of the reign of Shah Alam II which is accurate and intelligible. Add to them the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar Mualla*, a mine of first hand information about contemporary events.

There is no doubt that up to 1765 the Mughal emperor, though in reality no better than a phantom, continued to engage the attention and fire the imagination of his more powerful contemporaries, and he was installed in Allahabad in 1765 which is deemed to be an epoch-making event. But this was the result of a ferment which had enveloped the entire U.P. and the country up to Bengal. In U.P. the centres of feverish activity were Awadh, Rohilkhand, Farrukhabad and the Jat region up to the eastern limits of Rajasthan.

Awadh has claimed the attention of a large number of historians because the glory which once belonged to Delhi and Agra had now been arrogated to themselves by its rulers who, though independent, continued to style themselves as Nawab-Wazir. Harnam Singh's *Tarikh-i-Saadat Javid* is dedicated to the Nawab. *Ibratnamah* of Muhammad Qasim Lahauri has given a vivid account of the conspiracy of Saadat Khan against Husain Ali and his struggle against the Marathas. Murtaza Husain Bilgrami in his *Hediqat-Aqalim*, besides referring to Saadat Khan, Safdar Jang and Ahmad Khan Bangash, has graphically described

the events in the provinces of Awadh, Bihar and Bengal. Ghulam Ali in his *Imadus-Saadat* has recorded the history of the Nawabs from Burhan-ul-Mulk Saadat Ali to Saadat Ali Khan. Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh's *Tarikh-Farah Bakhsh* is a useful work about Delhi and Faizabad. *Tuhafah-i-Ghafilin* gives important details about Saadat Khan and Safdar Jang. Khair-ud-din's *Tuhfai-Taza* is a comprehensive history of the Rajas of Banaras from Mansa Ram to Chet Singh. It gives interesting details about their relations with the Nawabs of Awadh. *Tarikh-i-Sawadhat-i-Salatun Awadh* of Kamal-ud-din gives genealogical detail about the ancestors of Saadat Khan and Safdar Jang. *Maadan-us-Saadat* gives a detailed account of Saadat Khan's rule and Safdar Jang's expedition to Patna. *Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin* of Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami throws valuable and accurate light on Shuja-ud-Daulah's Bihar campaign and other activities. *Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan* throws light on Shuja-ud-Daulah's character. *Tarikh-i-Ghafilin* of Abu Tarib is the history of Asaf-ud-Daulah. As to Wajid Ali Shah, the last ruler of Awadh, besides the British records, the works like *Asrar-i-Wajidi* by Zahir-ud-din Bilgrami, *Mirat-ul-Ausafa* of Lalji and *Zubdat-ul-Kawaif* by Maharaja Gopi Nath Saqib are useful. There are also a large number of books in Urdu, e.g., *Afsanah-i-Lucknow* by Siyadat Hasan Saiyyid, Jalaluddin Haidar Khan, *Tarikh-i-Aftab-i-Awadh* by Mirza Muhammad Taqi, *Tarikh-i-Mumtaz* and the *Tarikh-i-Bahu Begum* by Muhammad Taqi.

As to the Rohillahs of Katehar and Bangash Afghans of Farrukhabad, there are not only stray references but also good accounts of their activities. They were perpetually on war path with the Nawabs of Awadh and all the historians of Awadh refer to them in detail. Anand Ram Mukhlis in his *Bada-i-Waqiat* has dealt with the imperial expedition to Baagadh, the stronghold of Ali Muhammad Khan Rohillah. In Ghulam Ali's *Imadus-Saadat* there is reference to the Rohillas. Mustajab Khan, the author of *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, has, though glorifying in his work the activities of his father Hafiz Rahmat Khan, furnishes important information about the Afghans in Rohilkhand. *Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh* of Sheo Prasad is a history of the Rohillah Afghans from their earliest settlement up to 1775.

Muhammad Hasan Raza Khan's *Akhbar Hasan* is devoted to the history of the rise of the Afghans in Rohilkhand. Add to these Muhammad Wali's *Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad* and Sahibuddin's *Tarikh-i-Shahjahanpur* (Urdu).

Unfortunately, the basic material for the history of the Jats and the Bundelahs is very sparse, though they remained active and defiant throughout the Mughal period. Detailed references to the Bundelahs are available in the official histories of the Mughals like *Padshahnamahs* and those pertaining to the reigns of Aurangzib and his successors. But they have not been pieced together and shaped properly. In the later period the tussle between the Bundelahs and the Bangash Afghans became very acrimonious and long drawn out.

As regards the Jats, though during the period of the decline of the Mughal empire they succeeded in establishing some tiny chieftainships, they failed to get their history recorded by any contemporary or later writer. The late Professor K. R. Qanungo in spite of this limitation managed to compile an account of the Jats from various sources of information and so far it is the last book on the subject.

In the eighteenth century, however, another political force began to creep slowly but steadily from the east to the west. The English by guile and force extended their power and influence right up to Awadh which they ultimately swallowed up without any compunction. Hence much information about U.P. may be gleaned from the Fort William-India House Correspondence. The English Factory Records are also relevant for this purpose and they may be usefully utilised.

In the end it may be pointed out that Bilgram, Sandilah, Amroha, Rudauli, Gopanau, Sambhal and many other towns and cities hummed with religious and cultural developments and they contributed immensely to the life of the people of U.P. They were the headquarters of religious saints and men of letters who wrote with avidity about their times and expounded their views. As noted above, U.P. under the Great Mughals has been exhaustively dealt with by Dr. Neelima Priyadarshini ; but Uttar Pradesh of the period after the Great Mughals is still awaiting the attention of scholars.

A LITTLE KNOWN WORK OF PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF MUGHAL INDIA

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UTTAR PRADESH in Mughal times, if we are permitted to use the appellation in that context, comprised the Subahs of Awadh, and parts of those of Allahabad, Agra and Delhi.¹ Linguistically, this area falls within the Hindi region. As such, contemporary Hindi literature forms an important source of information for the history, especially social history,² of this region. One work in Hindi, however, surpasses all others in this respect, for it gives pertinent information on different aspects of life in Uttar Pradesh in the first half of the seventeenth century.³ This work is the *Ardhakathanak*⁴ by Banarasidas. It is the autobiography of a Jain businessman, in Hindi verse, written in the dialect of *Madhyadesh*,⁵ comprising six hundred and seventy-five *dohas* and *chaupais*.⁶ It was composed by the author at the age of fifty-five, in 1641.⁷ Its size notwithstanding, the work is notable for the amount of varied information it contains and, as such, it forms a very remarkable source of information for this region during the Mughal period.

Banarasidas was a middle-class businessman from Jaunpur, who settled in Agra in connection with his business. His profession, his economic status, his personal accomplishments and his eventful life make him a typical representative of the seventeenth-century middle-class in northern India.⁸ As such, his memoirs naturally abound in pertinent information on the social and economic life of the middle-class in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹ Yet its perusal would not be unrewarding to students of political history of the period as well. For, although political history forms only an incidental part of the work, the author provides some interesting observations on

political history and the administrative institutions and working of the state machinery, particularly at the local level, of that age. Coming from the pen of a straightforward and scrupulous man, who has no hesitation in confessing his delinquencies¹⁰ in an eventful life, amply rich in varied experiences,¹¹ these observations contribute significantly towards absolving the Hindi works of the medieval period of the charge of lacking in political history, which has been given as one of the reasons why these works have not been able to attract the attention of the historians of Mughal India in an adequate manner.¹²

The present study deals with the treatment of political history in the *Ardhakathanak*, other aspects having already been dealt with elsewhere.¹³ Political history, as treated by Banarasidas, may be divided into two parts. In the first place, he deals with local history, namely, history of his native town, Jaunpur. Then, he refers to the history of northern India.

In dealing with the history of Jaunpur, Banarasidas ventures into past history and writes about the Jaunpur kingdom.¹⁴ In it, no doubt, he falters, but his treatment of contemporary history is sufficiently reliable. Moreover, in spite of political history being merely incidental to Banarasidas, he is methodical in his approach to history. His arrangement of the subject has been to give topographical details of the place to start with. Then he takes up past history to use it as an introduction to the contemporary one. Finally, contemporary history is dealt with in greater detail. In this treatment of contemporary history, the poet takes up for discussion certain significant events of his times and describes people's reactions to them. Thus, though his history is not as complete as that of the professional historians of his days, it is more significant, as it is the history of the people instead of personalities.

Banarasidas, at first, gives an account of the city of Jaunpur, situated in the eastern country.¹⁵ The city stood in a wide plain¹⁶ on the banks of the river Gomati, which flew on its three sides—south, east and north.¹⁷ It was founded by the Pathan ruler, Jauna Shah, who established his authority and gave his name to the city and the kingdom.¹⁸ Here our author falters,

as the town of Jaunpur was founded by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq.¹⁹ But he is correct in giving the derivation of the name of the city, for Firoz Tughlaq named it after his cousin Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who was known as Fakhruddin Jauna Khan before his accession to the throne.²⁰ Of course, the Tughlaqs were not Pathans, but 'Pathan' appears more as a colloquial term denoting Muslims coming from the north-west than as a racial appellation.

Jaunpur, in Banarasidas's time, was a populous town, inhabited by people of different castes and professional groups.²¹ It had numerous buildings—pavilions and spacious and high palaces. Some of the buildings were even seven-storeyed. These were adorned with numerous festoons and flags.²² The town had fifty-two inns in it. There were fifty-two *parganas* (villages) around it. Fifty-two markets and the same number of *mandis* (wholesale markets) were there in the city.²³ Thus Jaunpur was a flourishing town, amply fit to have been the nucleus of a mighty kingdom, which was ruled one after another by eight Shahs, namely, Jauna Shah, Bavakkar Shah, Surhar Sultan, Dost Muhammad, Nizam Shah, Ibrahim Shah, Hussain Shah Ghazi, and Bakhya Shah.²⁴ Here, again, the poet is confused. Since the city of Jaunpur was founded by Firoz Tughlaq and named after Muhammad Tughlaq, the first two *Sultans* may be taken to refer to Muhammad Tughlaq and Firoz Tughlaq. The third, Surhar Sultan, was certainly Malik Sarwar Khwaja Jahan, the *wazir* of Sultan Mahmud, the last Tughlaq ruler, who confirmed the title of Malikush Sharq, conferred on Malik Sarwar by Sultan Muhammad, and appointed him governor of Jaunpur. It was after Malik Sarwar (Surhar) that Jaunpur was also named Surharpur.²⁵ Malik Sarwar founded the Sharqi dynasty, and four successors of his—Qaranful, who was known as Mubarak Shah, Ibrahim Shah, Mahmud Shah, and Husain Shah—ruled over Jaunpur till it was conquered by Bahlul Lodi in 1483-84, and finally by Sikandar Lodi in 1494-95.²⁶

The boundaries of the Jaunpur kingdom, according to our author, extended up to Patna in the east, to Etawah in the west, to the Vindhya in the south, and to the river Ghaghra in the north.²⁷ Even here, Banarasidas goes wrong, for the Jaunpur

kingdom, as M. M. Sayeed points out, included "in addition to U.P., the territories of Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand, including the Bhopal State, the whole territory of North and South Bihar, and the rais of Jajnagar and the rulers of Bengal were its feudatories."²⁸

Here it may be quite relevant to doubt the utility of such a confused account of this 'three hundred years old story'.²⁹ But the statement of Banarasidas about his source of information for the history of the Jaunpur kingdom would make us appreciate the failure of our author in spite of his systematic treatment of it. He based his account on the story as it was narrated to him by his elders, believing it to be correct.³⁰ Thus the lapses of Banarasidas emanate from those of his source of information, and we shall not be justified in taking him to task for this, as the oral and hearsay evidence was recognised as an important source of history even by historians in the medieval period. Moreover, his references to some events of political history during his own life time by their accuracy prove Banarasidas to have been a careful observer.

The *Ardhakathanak* gives an account of fifty-five years of the author's eventful life,³¹ which runs through the reigns of the three great Mughals—Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, a few incidents of whose reigns have been noted by the author. Regarding the choice of these events, it would be well to bear in mind that the author's references are incidental, and he mentions only those events which had a bearing on his own life and that of his family and associates.

From the reign of Akbar, first, he refers to Prince Daniyal's governorship of Allahabad, under whose liberal patronage his father worked for some time.³² Then he mentions the rebel Prince Salim's march on Jaunpur,³³ repercussions of which he narrates in detail. These not only amply bring out the difficulties of the administrators concerned and the panic among the general public, but also provide information about defensive measures adopted by the local authorities in times of emergency. In 1600 A.D., the rebel Prince Salim marched towards Jaunpur under the pretext of going ahunting to Kolhuban. In the meanwhile, an order from Akbar came to the *hakim* of Jaunpur,

Nuram Sultan, asking him not to allow the prince to proceed to Kolhuban.³⁴ Accordingly, Nuram Khan made preparations to resist the prince. "He fortified himself in the city and decided to fight till the end. All the roads were blocked; boats were not allowed on the ghats of the Gomati. The gates of the bridges were closed, and preparations were made for battle. A large number of footmen and cavalry were engaged and everywhere guards were posted. Cannons were mounted on the battlements, and there was great upheaval in the city. The fort was well-stocked with provisions of grain, cloth, water, guns, armour, saddles, gun-powder, and various types of arms. He opened the treasury and spent lavishly. Thus he got ready and came forward to fight. The people became panicky and fled in all directions so that the great city became deserted. Perturbed by these happenings, all the jewellers of the city met at a place and discussed: 'What shall we do? We with our families are in straits. Our welfare is not certain, whether we stay here or flee. We are like musk-rat held by a snake.' Then they all went to Nuram and petitioned him. Nuram told them that they might stay or leave the town if they so wished. When his own hour of death had almost come, he said what could he do for them? Then, they came back to their homes and decided to flee, leaving everything to fate. They fled helter skelter, some in the company of someone else, and others alone."³⁵ Salim, however, came up to the Gomati and sent his agent, Lalabeg,³⁶ who reproached Nuram for his conduct and took him to the prince, who dispelled all Nuram's fears and pardoned his misdeeds.³⁷ The jewellers returned on knowing about this.³⁸ This detailed account shows Banarasidas's interest in contemporary events and his power of clear narration.

Another evidence of Banarasidas's abiding interest in contemporary events is afforded by his record of Akbar's death and the repercussions of this news in Jaunpur. Although he does not give the day of Akbar's death, he gives correctly the month, *Kartik* (October-November), and the year, Samvat 1662 (A.D. 1605),³⁹ for Akbar died on October 15, 1605.⁴⁰ People in Jaunpur were panic-stricken on hearing about it. Banarasidas,

who was sitting on the stairs, fell unconscious and hurt himself seriously.⁴¹ "In the meantime there was great turmoil in the city. People closed their gates and the shopkeepers stopped sitting in the market. People buried under earth all their good clothes and ornaments. Gold and silver were buried at one place and the cash at another place of safety. All the people purchased arms, and men wore thick clothes. They wrapped themselves in rugs and thick sheets. Even women put on coarse clothes. Consequently, it became difficult to distinguish between the high and the low, and the rich and the poor resembled each other. Robbers and thieves were not to be seen, yet people were frightened. This upheaval lasted ten days. Then, there was quiet on receiving letters informing that after the death of Akbar, after ruling for fifty-two years,⁴² his eldest son Prince Salim had been enthroned at Agra with the title of Nuruddin Jahangir, whose sovereignty had been proclaimed in the empire. In Jaunpur also, his authority was proclaimed and Jahangir was hailed by all."⁴³

This is a very good description of the happenings taking place in a far-off city of the empire following Akbar's death. The popularity of Akbar among his subjects is well reflected in the way Banarasidas took the news of his death. Such panic among the people, especially those living in the distant parts of the empire, was common in those days, because there being no fixed law of succession, one did not know what would follow the death of a monarch like Akbar. As soon as the period of uncertainty was over life became normal. Here it may be pointed out that such information will not be easy to find in the historical works of the age, for the official historians had no time to record the reactions of the people and the non-official historians did not find it convenient to look beyond the standards set by their official counterparts.

Banarasidas refers to the plague during the reign of Jahangir, which erupted in 1616 and reached Agra in 1618,⁴⁴ when "people fled helter skelter. The disease of swellings⁴⁵ (buboes of nymph) broke out and people died in no time. Rats died and even the physicians died; people stopped taking food out of

fear."⁴⁶ The author himself fled to a village of Brahmans, Azizpur, near Agra.⁴⁷

The last historical events mentioned by Banarasidas are the sudden death of Jahangir, while returning from Kashmir, and the accession to the throne of Shahjahan, four months later, with the title of Shah Kiran in Samvat 1684 V.⁴⁸

Thus, Banarasidas was fully conscious of contemporary events and could record them with considerable competence. His approach to local history and record of the effects of political events on the people is remarkable.

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- ¹ Abul Fazal, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, transl. H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta 1949) 169-206, 283-314. The Subah of Allahabad included parts of modern Bihar—cf. *Ain* II, 169. Of the thirteen Sarkars in the Agra Subah the following eight were outside the limits of Uttar Pradesh: Gwalior, Irij, Bayanwah, Narwar, Mandaral, Alwar, Tijarah and Narnol—cf. *Ain* II, 193-206. Of the eight Sarkars in the Subah of Delhi the following four were included in Uttar Pradesh, Badaon, Kumaon, Sambhal and Saharanpur—cf. *Ain* II, 290, 293-297.
- ² R. C. Sharma, 'Castes in Northern India during the Medieval period', *Agra University Journal of Research (Letters)*, Vol. XXII, Pt. I, Jan. 1974, 65.
- ³ The area of activities of its author extended from Jaunpur to Agra and embraced places in the Mughal Subahs of Allahabad, Awadh, Agra and Delhi.
- ⁴ The edition of the work used for this study is the one edited by Nathuram Premi and published from Bombay in 1957, the full reference being Banarasidas, *Ardha-Kathanak*, ed. N. Premi (Bombay 1957), and abbreviation used henceforward *Akth.* followed by verse number and page number. For an English translation of this work by the present author, vide *Indica*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 and 2 (March and September 1970) 49-73 and 105-120 (Abbrev. *Indica*, 7, 1 or 2).
- ⁵ *Akth.* 7, 2. The *madhyadesh* is said to be falling within Uttar Pradesh—the region from Jaunpur to Agra—H. L. Jain, *Ardha-Kathanak ki Bhasha, Akth.* Introduction 15. Ordinarily this region covers the area of *Brajbhasha* and *Khariboli*, and the language used in this

- work is *Brajhasha* with a blending of *Khariboli*—M. P. Gupta (ed.), *Ardhakatha Banarasidas Krita* (Allahabad 1943) Introduction, 14.
- ⁶ *Akth.* 670-675, 74-75.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ R. C. Sharma, 'Life of a Middle-Class Man in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. III, Pts. II and III (August and December 1974) 389.
- ⁹ *Indica*, 7, 1, 50 ; R. C. Sharma, 'Aspects of Business in Northern India in the Seventeenth Century', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 33rd Session (Muzaffarpur 1972), 276-282 ; fn. 8 *supra*.
- ¹⁰ *Akth.* 170-172, 20 ; 652-656, 72-73.
- ¹¹ *Indica*. 7, 1, 50.
- ¹² Sri Ram Sharma, *A Bibliography of Mughal India* (Bombay n.d.) 133-134.
- ¹³ Cf. references in fnns 8 and 9 *supra* and 'Aspects of Public Administration in Northern India in the first half of the Seventeenth Century', *J.I.H.*, Vol. LIV, Pt. I (April 1976) 107-116, by the same author.
- ¹⁴ *Akth.* 27, 4.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.* 24, 4.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.* 26, 4.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.* 24-25, 4.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* 26-27, 4.
- ¹⁹ *Ain*, II, 170.
- ²⁰ Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, transl. S. A. A. Rizvi, *Khaljikalīn Bharat* (Aligarh 1955), 143.
- ²¹ *Akth.* 28-29, 4-5. Here Banarasidas gives a list of thirty-six professional castes—cf. *Indica*, 7, 1, 53, fn. 38 ; *A.U.J.R.* (Letters), XXII, 1-67, 70-73.
- ²² *Akth.* 30, 5.
- ²³ *Ibid.* 31, 5. The number fifty-two is quite intriguing, suggestive, probably, more of a large number.
- ²⁴ *Akth.* 32-35, 5.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* 471, 52.
- ²⁶ *Indica*. 7, 1, 54, fn. 48.
- ²⁷ *Akth.* 35-36, 5-6.
- ²⁸ M. Habib and K. A. Nizami (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. Five. *The Delhi Sultanat* (New Delhi 1970) 713.
- ²⁹ *Akth.* 36, 6.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.* 37, 6.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* 642, 71 ; 663, 73 ; 672, 75.
- ³² *Ibid.* 133, 16 ; 145, 17.
- ³³ *Ibid.* 149-161, 12-19.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.* 150-151, 17-18.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 152-161, 18-19.

³⁶ In September 1599 Salim rebelled openly and established himself as a king at Allahabad. At that time he allotted Jaunpur to Lalabeg, who was not allowed to take its possession by Nuram Khan. Salim might have planned this visit to Jaunpur in order to instal Lalabeg there—Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir* (Allahabad 1962), 44.

³⁷ *Akth.* 164-165, 19.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 166, 19.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 246, 28.

⁴⁰ A. L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Vol. I (Agra 1962), 488.

⁴¹ *Akth.* 247-250, 28-29.

⁴² Akbar actually ruled for forty-nine years. But V. S. Agrawal says that this reckoning of the length of Akbar's reign is based on counting from the Hijri era—cf. *Akth.* 29, fn. 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 252-260, 29-30.

⁴⁴ This epidemic continued to rage in the Panjab and the Doab up to 1642—Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, transl. and ed. A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Vol. I (London 1908), 330 ; *ibid.* II (London 1914), 65-67.

⁴⁵ *Akth.* 572, 63.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 572-573, 63-64.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 574, 64.

⁴⁸ Jahangir died at Rajauri on Sunday, October 29, 1627, and Shahjahan's accession took place on Monday, February 4, 1628, some four months after, and he assumed the lofty style of Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib Qiran Sani—B. P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli* (Allahabad 1958), 63.

KANNADA SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL UTTAR PRADESH

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KANNADA literary sources of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries refer to the present Uttar Pradesh as Chappanna Desa, or a land of fifty-six Desas.¹ The people of Karnataka were aware of the ruling dynasties of Uttar Pradesh even from the ancient times, such as the Nandas, the Mauryas and the Guptas.² From the seventh to twelfth centuries, the Karnataka rulers clashed with the rulers of Uttar Pradesh. It is interesting to note that some of the ruling dynasties of Karnataka, namely, the Kadambas and the Chalukyas, were proud to call themselves hailing from the 'Uttaradesa'.³

Since Kannada sources of the ancient history of Uttar Pradesh are mentioned in detail by Sri Kantha Sastri in his book *Sources of Karnataka History*, an attempt has been made here to trace the Kannada sources of the medieval history of Uttar Pradesh and evaluate them. These Kannada sources supply interesting information about the Muslim rule in that region and their activities in Karnataka. At the same time some of the literary works like Chandrama's *Karkala Gommatesvara Charitre* and Padmanabha's *Jinadattaraya Charitre* composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries give general descriptions of Uttar Pradesh. But these have been left out as they have little historical significance.

Epigraphs

There are many Kannada epigraphs which mention the Muslim rule in Uttar Pradesh. Here, a few illustrations may

be given. An epigraph from Sanka credits Jaitugi, as well as his father Bhillama, the Seuna rulers, with victories over the Turushkas.⁴ Another inscription dated 1222 A.D., found at Munavalli of Saundati Taluka of Belgaum district, records that Singhanna II, the next Seuna ruler, routed the Muslim forces in addition to his conquest over the regions of Magadha, Malwa, and Panchala (*Malva Magadhadipa Gurja—Turkabbarige Panchala Kalinga Sindu Visavadiya Prateves Gaiye*).⁵ Though the authenticity of these statements is doubtful, these records enable us to arrive at the following conclusions. First, the rulers of Karnataka knew the political condition of Uttar Pradesh. Secondly, these rulers had an intention to liberate the sacred land, 'Uttar Pradesh', from the clutches of the Muslims.

A few Kannada inscriptions speak of the Mughal activities in Karnataka and their consequences. For instance, an epigraph dated 1691 A.D. refers to the Mughal invasion of the Keladi territory in the Sukla Samvatsara (1689 A.D.), the suffering of Kalle Gauda and Chennammaji (the Keladi Queen) and grant of Umbali to the former⁶ (Kalle Gauda Hujuru bandu Sukla Samvatsara dalli Mogalara Rayakada li Tanna Kaiyennada Sambalava Kottu Mandi Katti Masalithinalli Kashta Madi-denu). Two more inscriptions inform us that the Keladi rulers raised additional taxes known as Pagudi⁷ on the subjects in order to defend their kingdom. Besides the political contacts, the people of Karnataka invited learned men from Kasi to perform certain religious rituals. For example, an inscription from Honahalli Matta (North Kanara district of Karnataka State) dated 1674 A.D. informs us that Sruti Bhatta was invited from Kasi to guard Somayaga conducted in the Matta for the prosperity of Svai Rama Chandra Nayaka, the Svadi chief.⁸

Literary Sources

Kumara Ramana Kathe, *Kummata Ramana Kathe* and *Keladinripa Vijayam* are the literary sources which supply information about the medieval history of Uttarapradesa. Nanjunda, Panchala Ganga and Linganna are the authors respec-

tively of these works. These works were composed between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Nanjunda in his work *Kumara Ramana Kathe* describes the grand court of Alauddin Khilji at Delhi and the plight of his subjects. Regarding the composition of Alauddin's forces, the poet says that it included men from different principalities, such as Kuru, Panchala, and Kanauj.⁹ The literary work relates that the kingdom of Alauddin extended from the wall of the Himalaya Mountains on the north to the three seas on three sides.¹⁰ Nemi was his commander-in-chief. His military exploits are described in the same work. These comprised the subjugation of the rulers of north India, and the Seuna, Hoysala and Kakatiya rulers in south India, his triumphant march to Ramesvara and his stationing of military troops at Madura. The poet says that Nemi's military expeditions were so alarming that the rulers of Chappannadesa agreed to pay tributes to the Sultan. The Sultan's beautiful daughter and her love affair with Kumara Rama, the ruler of Kampila, and two unsuccessful military expeditions of Nemi are narrated by the poet in this work. The poem ends with the last successful expedition of the Sultan against Kampila and the heroic death of Kumara Rama in the battlefield. The character of Sultan's daughter, her *amour* with Kumara Rama and three military raids on Kampila are novel features in this poem. It is known from other sources that the heroic death of Kumara Rama in the battlefield took place in 1327 A.D.,¹² and in that year the Sultan of Delhi was Muhammad bin Tughluq.

The same story with slight variations was composed by Ganga in 1650 A.D. He hailed from Panchala.¹³ From the historical point of view, Ganga tells us about the plight of the people of Uttar Pradesh under the Muslim rulers (*Panchalaru Nadedaru Guheyadolege*).^{13a}

The *Keladinripa Vijayam*, which was composed between 1763 and 1800 by poet Linganna, speaks of the history of Uttar Pradesh, especially of the rulers of Delhi. The historical information of Delhi rulers stated in this work was what was known in Karnataka during that period. We have to bear in mind that the historical accounts recorded in the poem are based on hearsay evidence. In the third stanza of this poem, the poet

narrates the pilgrimage of Dodda Sankanna (1566-1570) in the north and his fight with Ankusha Khan at Delhi and honours and gifts conferred on Sankanna by the Sultan.¹⁴ Further we are told of the construction of Jangama Mattas at Prayaga Kasi by the same Keladi Chief.

While narrating the history of the Keladi rulers, poet Linganna gives a list of Hindu rulers of Delhi commencing from Duryodhana and ending with Prithviraja. The poet avers that Anandapala and Prithviraja ruled Delhi for thirty-six and six years¹⁵ respectively. Then the poet gives a list of Pathan rulers and their reign periods as follows: Sultan (40 years rule), Sultan Shahabuddin (27 years 7 months), Shahabuddin Ghuri (20 years and 10 months), Firud Shaha (10 years and 7 months), his wife Shaha Masudabibipachi (7 years and 6 months), Shaha Mainuddin (7 years and 1 month), Masudashaha Ranathi (?), Nasimuddin Ghuri (30 years and 6 months), Gayasuddin Ghuri (22 years and 4 months), Shaha Kutub Ghuri (3 years and 6 months), Shaha Nasimuddin Ghuri (6 years and 5 months), Shaha Alauddin (58 years and 4 months), Shaha Kutubuddin (48 years and 3 months) and Sher Shaha Sur. These Pathans ruled Delhi for 290 years.¹⁷

These Pathan rulers were followed by the Mughal rulers.¹⁸ They were Sultan Khusru (8 years and 6 months), Sultan Firod Shaha Patushaha (28 years and 5 months), Mahmud Nasalakka Patushaha (6 years and 6 months), Shaha Sultan Mahmud Tobar (12 years and 5 months), Shahamayiyyassan (1 year and 4 months), Sultan Hamir (20 years and 10 months), Sultan Buhlul Lodi (38 years and 5 months), Sikandar Lodi (28 years and 7 months), Vibharam Lodi (10 years), Babar Patushaha (4 years and 10 months), and Hammau (14 years and 2 months). While mentioning these rulers, Linganna refers to the minting of leather currency by Muhammad Tughluq who was known to the poet as Mahmued Nasalkka.^{18a} The rest of the Mughal rulers were Timur Lang (28 years and 8 months), Babur Shairam Shaha Fezur Shaha (8 years and 10 months), Shairman (1 month) and Shahaman,¹⁹ Masud Jalaluddin (50 years and 1 month), Jahangir (20 years and 1 month), Shaha Jahana (32 years) and Aurangzeb (52 years and 6 months), Shah

Ali (5 years and 5 months), Farrukshaha (2 years and 6 months), Mauzauddin (2 years and 11 months), Azamuiddin (1 year and 10 months), Farrukshaha (3 years) and Muhammad Azamuiddin (1 year and 6 months). The total reign of these rulers covered 218 years. In another stanza of the same literary work, the poet mentions more or less accurate genealogy of the Mughal rulers, namely, Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah and Muhammad Shah.²⁰ The poet is not sure who actually subdued Kampila Rama's forces and its credit was offered to one of the Mughal rulers.²¹ Linganna makes an erroneous statement that Akbar subdued Pratapa Rudradeva of Orangal.²² The poet knew of the murder of Dara by Aurangzeb. The latter crushed Bavan Patushaha,²³ who was probably the Kutubshahi of Golkonda. Akbar, Shahal, Begaum and Azam were the children of Aurangzeb, born of Rajput, Mughal and Muslim queens of the latter. Aurangzeb had another son by name Kam-Bakhsh, born of his Gujarati harlot.

With reference to Akbar, Linganna gives the following information. One day Aurangzeb called Akbar to his court and handed over his sword to the prince. But Akbar could not properly hold the sword in his hand and began to tremble. Realizing that Akbar was unfit to be a ruler, Aurangzeb dismissed him from the court. He conferred on Shahal, his another son, the title of Bahadur Shah. The poet informs us that Chikkli Khan was administering the Mughal Decanni Suba under the direction of the emperor. Aurangzeb's keen interest in knowing other religions is mentioned in the *Keladinripa Vijayam*²⁴ (*Svamata anya matam galennade Tatchastra Varma galam Kelutum Mantara Sastram Gala Samgrhisi Mulla Sastra Vivanagallam Kelutimtu*). The Mughal expansion in the Deccan, the capture of Sambhaji and his execution by Aurangzeb, the flight of Rajaram, his shelter in the court of Keladi Chennammaji, the pursuit of the Mughal army in search of him and defeat in the hands²⁵ of Keladi Chennammaji are narrated in the same work. It is interesting to note that the poet knew of the partition of the Mughal empire among the sons of Aurangzeb. It was done by the emperor in his life time. According to it

Shahal, Azam and Kam Bakhsh secured Delhi, the northern Suba, and Golkonda and Bijapur respectively. As regards the Maratha region, Aurangzeb under the influence of his daughter, Begaum, who showed interest in Sahu, wrote a Will. According to it, Sahu would pay one-fourth of his state income to the Mughal ruler in return for the restoration of his state. The payment of income proposed to be paid by Sahu was known as Chaudai. But this was implemented by Aurangzeb's daughter after his death. The death of Aurangzeb at Daulatabad and the reigns of other Mughal rulers up to Muhammad Shah²⁶ are noticed in the same work.

Concluding remarks

The sources discussed above reveal that the poets of Karnataka were aware of the historical events of northern India. Though these accounts are confused on account of hearsay evidence, the attempts of the Kannada writers to narrate the history of northern India deserve attention.

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Padmanabha, *Jinadattaraya Charitre* (1950 Mangalore) Sandhi II, verse 9, p. 15.
- ² *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, SK 225, dated 1204 A.D. (cited this work as EC). Detail See, Saletore, B.A. *Karnatak Trans-Oceanic contacts* (1956 Dharwar), p. 3.
- ³ The epigraph mentioned in the above note informs us that the Kadambas were descended from the Nandas. Poet Ranna of the tenth century A.D. tells in his *Sahasa Bhima Vijaya* that the Chalukya's original homeland was Ayodhya. Srikantha Shastry, *Sources of Karnataka History* (194 Mysore), p. 131.
- ⁴ Srinivas Ritti, *The Seunas* (1974 Dharwar), p. 94.
- ⁵ *Karnatak Inscriptions*, I, (1941 Dharwar) 30 of 1939-40, p. 67.
- ⁶ EC, VII, SK, 79.

- ⁷ *Ibid.*, SK 210, *ibid.*, VIII, TL 98. Chitnis K. N. *Keladi Polity* (1974 Dharwar), p. 97.
- ⁸ *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII, pp. 79, 80.
- ⁹ G. Varadaraja Rao, *Kumara Ramana Sangatya* (1966 Mysore), pp. 45ff.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-79.
- ¹² P. B. Desai, *Legendary Origin of Vijayanagara*, p. 4.
- ¹³ R. Narasimhachar, *Karnataka Kavi Charitre* II, (1973 Bangalore), p. 379.
- ^{13a} *Ibid.*, p. 380.
- ¹⁴ If this fact is true, the ruler of Delhi in this period, i.e., 1566-1570 A.D. was Akbar.
- ¹⁵ *Keladinripa Vijayam* (cited hereafter as *K.N.V.*, 1973 Mysore), p. 123.
- ¹⁶ She may be Queen Reziyya.
- ¹⁷ *K.N.V.*, p. 124.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* Here the poet confused the Tughluqs, the Sayyids and the Lodis with the early Mughal rulers.
- ^{18a} *Ibid.* But the duration of the rule of the Sultan stated by Linganna is not correct. This Sultan ruled from 1325 to 1351. For detail see *Oxford History of India* (1971 Oxford), pp. 249, 251.
- ¹⁹ Here, the poet does not make any distinction between the Sur and the Mughal rulers.
- ²⁰ *K.N.V.*, verse 16, p. 125.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, verse 17.
- ²² *Ibid.*, verse 19.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, verse 21, p. 126.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 144f. According to the Portuguese record of 1691 Keladi Chennammaji suffered defeat at the hands of the Mughal ruler and agreed to pay tribute. *Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission*, XIV (1940).
- ²⁶ *K.N.V.*, pp. 143f.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL GARHWAL

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THE AREA known as Gandhamadan in the *Mahabharata* and Kedarkhand in the Puranas is Garhwal of Medieval times. This name is used roughly from thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. onwards. This land is surrounded by Tibet in the north, while the southern boundaries were fluctuating in Saharanpur and Bijnor-Bhawar area. Garhwal is separated from Kumaon in the east by the Nanda Devi range and by the Chandpur and Badhan plateaus. Not only is this borderland strategically important and inhabited by a martial race but it also contains famous places of pilgrimage, such as Badrinath, Kedarnath, Gangotri and Jamunotri, which bear out its cultural importance for the Hindus.

A Brief History of Medieval Garhwal

According to traditions Veerdev or Brahmdev, the last Katyuri ruler, was a tyrant and so his kingdom fell into pieces. Asokachalla and Krachalladeva, the Nepali conquerors, tried to consolidate their rule, but after them the part now recognized as Garhwal came to be divided among fifty-two chiefs and was, therefore, known as "Bawani". Each of these chiefs had a fort (Garh) at the top of a hill commanding the surrounding valley and thus the region came to be known as Garhwal. Prominent among these were the Chauhans. Their important forts were at Siwalik, Ajmergarh, Ratangarh, Jwalapur, Ramolagarh, Rainkarh, Lohbagarh and, most famous, Chandpurgarh. The glorious exploits of these chiefs are still sung by Hurkiyas in many a ballad.

Garhwal was united by a dynasty traditionally known as Panwar (or Parmars) about the end of the fifteenth century. According to tradition and Vamsavalis we get the names of Kanakpala, Kandilpala, Bhauna and Bhuwanpal as the various founders of this dynasty. Jagatpal (*circa* 1455 A.D.) seems to have been a historical personage. His son Ajayapala (*circa* 1500-1548 A.D.) defeated most of the chiefs, and this gave unity and firm administration to Garhwal. To us he seems to have been the real founder of the dynasty. His capital Chandpurgarh was on the border of Kumaon. Since it was not safe, he temporarily shifted to Dewalgarh and then founded Srinagar, on the banks of the Ganges, as the new capital. We get two inscriptions of his son Sahajpal, who was of some importance. The next ruler Balbhadrashah (about 1581-1591 A.D.), Ramshah of *Akbarnama*, acquired prominence due to his relations with Akbar and his wars with Kumaon. The next significant ruler was Manshah (1591-1611 A.D.), conqueror of Daba (Tibet), who defeated Laxmichand, ruler of Kumaon, in many battles. He was famous as a patron of arts and letters. Shyam Shah (1611-1624 A.D. or 1631 A.D.) visited Jahangir's court. Some Jesuits on the way to Tibet visited Srinagar, Shyam Shah had friendly relations with them. Mahipatshah (1631-1634 A.D. or 1624-1631 A.D.) was brave but eccentric. During the minority of his son queen Karunawati (Karnavati or Nak-Kati-Rani of Muslim writers as she used to cut the noses of those defeated) defeated the Mughal general, Najabat Khan, by a stratagem. It was during the reign of her son Prithvi Pal Shah (1634 to 1664 A.D.) that Dara Shikoh's son Sulaiman Shikoh took shelter in Garhwal but was handed over to Aurangzeb by his son, Prince Medini Shah, who died at Delhi. Prithvi Pal Shah was succeeded by his grandson, Fateh Shah.

Fateh Shah's (1664 A.D. or 67 to 1716 A.D.) reign was glorious and prosperous. Many poets, astrologers, men of arts and letters adorned his court. We have ample source material for a detailed study of his rule although more source material may yet be discovered in future.

After Fateh Shah begins the downfall of the Panwars. His son Pradeepshah helped Kalyanchand of Kumaon against the

Rohillas (1741-42 A.D.) but had to suffer a severe defeat at the hands of his successor Deepchand at Tamadaun. His son, Lalit Shah, wanted to conquer Kumaon and Sirmur for his pet queen's sons. This led to intrigues with the Joshis of Kumaon, who in their turn wanted a puppet, and so Prudhymnashah was placed on the throne as the ruler of Kumaon. The latter then fought his elder step-brother Jaikirtishah, the ruler of Garhwal. After Jaikirtishah's death, Prudhymnashah came back as ruler of Garhwal, but his brother Parakramshah also claimed the throne. There is nothing much in the history of Garhwal in these times except the brave resistance of the Garhwalis against the Gurkha forces for fifteen years. At the end, in 1804, Pradhyumnashah died fighting in the battlefield of Khurbura near Dehra Dun and the kingdom was annexed by Nepal.

I. Nature of the Source Material in General

Although this paper deals with the medieval period, since the rulers and the ruled of Garhwal were both Hindus, we find the same attitude towards history as that of the Ancient Indians. The exploits of the great Kings were dealt with in detail by the court poets. The style is eulogistic; conquests and good deeds of the patrons are exaggerated. The unimportant rulers are just left in peace. The *Vamsavalis* are made to order and wholly unreliable. The inscriptions, mostly grants, do sometimes help in building up chronology, but these are rare. The accounts of the travellers are inaccurate and depict only short periods, but they do sometimes help in reconstructing administrative and cultural history. Numismatic evidence is not much. Chronology is the weakest point of the sources. We have to build it up either from the grants or contemporary incidents mentioned by Turkish, Persian or European sources. The authors of these sources, in turn, were unfamiliar with the names of men and places and twisted them so much that it becomes difficult to trace the real names. Much history is embedded in tradition, and these are so well-knit together that it is difficult to separate the two.

Hurkiyas (or *Vadins-Bhats*) still sing the tales of glory of the heroes and a good deal of historical material may be derived from these.

II. Classification of Source Material

1. Primary sources :
 - (a) Contemporary historical literature in Sanskrit and Hindi.
 - (b) Turkish and Persian sources.
2. Other works in Sanskrit and Hindi, mostly by court poets.
3. Secondary sources.
4. Accounts of travellers.
5. Vamsavalis.
6. Local traditions.
7. Archaeological sources.

III. A Critical Review of the Extent and Dependability of the Different Categories of Source Material.

1. (a) *Primary Sources* :
 - i. Historical Works : *Garhrajvansa Kavya* of Molaram.

Among the primary sources Molaram's history of the rulers of Garhwal, known as *Garhrajvansa Kavya*, is reliable to a great extent, although we do not know the exact name of the work as the first and the last two pages are missing. *Garhrajvansa Kavya* is dependable particularly for the incidents that occurred during Molaram's life-time (1740-1833). He lived through great upheavals and witnessed many stormy events and changing political scenes, e.g., the Gurkha invasion and temporary ouster of the Panwars from Garhwal till they got back half the kingdom by the grace of the British government. The accounts of these events during the poet's life-time are quite reliable, but, what is more, the motives of the men, the assessment of the events and

the philosophy of the age all are very well interpreted. Although very frank and outspoken, being a court poet he had sympathy with certain factions of the Court. We cannot just believe the traditional stories about the origin of the Panwar dynasty he narrates, and his criticism of the factions he was opposed to was certainly biased. This work was written at the request of the Gurkha Governor Hastidal Chautaria, who wanted to know about the origin and the history of the Garhwal rulers.

ii. *Ganika-Natak or Garh-Geeta Sangram* by Molaram.

In a way, it is a supplement to *Garhrajvansa Kavya*. It narrates the conspiracies hatched by Kunwar Parakramshah to snatch the Kingdom of Garhwal from his brother Raja Prudhyumnshah. It gives us a reliable and a clear picture of the near civil-war conditions which hastened the end of the Garhwal Kingdom at the hands of the Gurkhas. Molaram's works are also useful as they present glimpses of society, culture and religious beliefs of Garhwal.

Manodaya Kavya of Bharat Kavi.

The next work of importance is *Manodaya Kavya* by the court astrologer of Manshah, Bharat Kavi Jyotirai. The astrologer was respected in the courts of Akbar and Jahangir as well. He was well-versed in Sanskrit and his style was influenced by Kalidasa. The book was written during the reign of Manshah, but the author traces the history of the dynasty from Ajayapala, whom he thinks to be "Chandravansi". Probably Bharat Kavi's accounts of Manshah's exploits against Kumaon and relations with Jubbal, Kaithal, Busher and Sirmur (Punjab Hill States) can be of credence, but his narration of how his scholarship earned the title of "Shah" for his ruler from Akbar is highly exaggerated, as rulers prior to Manshah used this title and various theories have been propounded for the change of name-ending of the rulers from "Pala" to "Shah". From this work we can derive that the relations of Manshah with Akbar were friendly, but that Manshah had not acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty. Four chapters of this *Kavya* were printed by his descendant, Shri Shambhu Prasad Bahuguna, in *Virat Hriday*;

the rest are missing. *Manodaya-Kavya* was also re-edited by Bharat Kavi's descendant Medhakar Shastri, author of *Ramayana Pradeep* and court-poet of Pradeep Shah.

Garhwal Ka Aitihasik Vritanta :

It was originally written in Garhwali language. Its twenty-page typed English translation is found in Register No. 4 of Abhilekhagar of Tehri State and now preserved in the U.P. State Archives. Its dates and credibility are doubtful. The unknown author states that he had written *Garhwal Ka Aitihasik Vritanta* after collecting the material from older generations and ancient inscriptions. Shri T. D. Gairola printed its English translation with the title *Memoir of Garhwal* in the journal of U.P. Historical Society, July 1943, in Appendix 2, which is now missing. According to Shri T. D. Gairola, it was first edited during the reign of Raja Bhawani Shah.

Vichitra Natak of Guru Govind Singh :

This work narrates Guru Govind Singh's war with Fateh Shah. The works of some of his disciples, such as Sukha Singh's *Guru Vilas*, also refer to the Sikh-Garhwal conflict, but these are written from the Sikh point of view and are not very authentic.

Guidast Tawareek-i-Koh-Tehri of Mian Prem Singh, written in 1882. Much of Raturi's material for *Garhwal Ka Itihasa* was borrowed from this source.

(b) *Persian and Turkish Sources :*

These are many, but the most important ones are listed below :

Abul Fazal—*Akbar Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* ;

Abdul Hamid Lahori—*Badshahnama* ;

Abdul Kadir Badauni—*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* ;

Amir Timur—*Malfuzat-i-Timauri* ;

Jahangir—*Tujak-i-Jahangiri*.

All these and many others, although very useful as source-material, suffer from serious defects. These historians were not acquainted with Hindu names of men and places. It becomes

very difficult to identify the rulers and places they mention. They were also not interested in a far-off hilly region and its politics ; their attention was mainly in the events of the capital, Delhi, and hence they dismissed the narrations of happenings in the hills cursorily.

2. *Other Works of Sanskrit and Hindi Poets.*

Ramayana-Pradeep of Medhakar Shashtri :

Ramayana-Pradeep has not been published as yet. A copy of it is found in the Laxmidhar-Vidyamandir temple of Deoprayag. It gives an account of a powerful King Mangalsen. Ajayapala is dealt with in greater details than in *Manodaya Kavya*. The rulers after him are just enumerated, but the author narrates the incidents of his patron Pradeep Shah's reign in great detail, and for these he is dependable.

Nirnayamrit of Aliatnath Suri :

The manuscript is with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Although it is a book on religious rituals and is an oft-quoted authority, it is the only contemporary source for the Bahuvan (interpreted Chahman by Bhandarkar) dynasty of Ekchakra (interpreted as Chakrauta ?). The author mentions seven kings of his patron's dynasty. The probable dates of the dynasty have been fixed as 1280 A.D. to 1420 A.D. by Dabral (*Garhwal Ka Itihas*, Vol. 1). The last king of this dynasty Ratansen probably fought in West Garhwal, while East Garhwal was ruled by Bahruz (Vastsya Raj ?).

The famous Hindi poet Bhushan had written some verses eulogizing Fatehshah and inserted them in *Shivraj-Kavya*, a work which he finished in 1673. Fatehshah is praised as a patron of arts and letters.

Motiram in his *Vrita Kaumudi*, a literary work in Hindi, mentions Fatehshah as his patron, although the book was finished in 1728 in Pradeepshah's reign. It is said that Motiram presented another book, *Rasraj*, to Molaram.

Ratan Kavi wrote *Fatehshah Prakash*, a literary work in Hindi dedicated to Fatehshah, who is mentioned as the protector

of the Hindus.

Jatadhar or Jatashankar Misra's *Fatehshah Prakash Kavya* throws some light on the date of Fatehshah. The manuscript of this book is in the possession of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. This poet describes Fatehshah as 'Chandransi'.

Ram Chandra Kandiyal, the court poet of Fatehshah, wrote *Fatehshah Yashovarnan*. This was finished in V.S. 1742 (1685 A.D.) in hundred and eight verses in Sanskrit and Prakrit. It has not been traced as yet, although a copy was with late Yogendra Krishna Daurgadatti.

The two Sanskrit Kavyas *Pradhymanodaya* and *Sundarshanodaya* are also missing.

3. Secondary Sources

Among secondary sources, *The Himalayan Gazetteer* of E. T. Atkinson, in three volumes, is very useful. *The Himalayan Gazetteer* has been recently published by the Cosmo Publications, Delhi. It compiles all the traditions and historical material then available and is a mine of information. Some of his conclusions, however, are far-fetched. He gives all the four *Vamsavalis* of the Panwars.

William's *Memoir of Dehra-Dun* and the District Gazetteers of Almora, Bijnore, Garhwal, Kangra, Nainital, Saharanpur Rampur, Tehri State and Punjab Hill States of Baghal, Bhajji, Dharni, Mandi, Nalagarh, Rawaigarh, Suket, Sirmur and Theog are useful as secondary sources. They help us in the study of the foreign relations of the Panwars, as Dehra-Dun was included in Garhwal kingdom and others were neighbouring states. The Gazetteers contain information mostly based on traditions and not on historical material. Hence, they should be studied cautiously and with the help of corroborative original sources.

Raturi's *Garhwal Ka Itihas* (1928), Pande's *Kumaon Ka Itihas* (1937), and Raturi's *Garhwal* (1953) are of some help, but these are just general surveys and not based on sound research. Nautiyal's *Archaeology of Kumaon* dismisses the history part too briefly. Dabral's *Garhwal Ka Itihas*, Vol. I,

and *Nai Samagree*, Vol. I (under the scheme of 'Uttarakhand Ka Itihas') are of much value, as they were written after painstaking efforts for collecting available material. The work shows a critical acumen and sound judgement. Joshi's *Khas Family Law* is useful for the study of social history, and Mukundilal's *Garhwal Paintings* for the study of arts and paintings. *Garhwal Ki Divangata Vibhutiyan* by Bhakta Darshan, although of some help, blends much ill-founded tradition with history. The account of Rohilla attacks is well depicted in Irvine's *Later Mughals* and A. L. Srivastava's *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*. In these attacks the Raja of Garhwal, Pradeepshah, helped the Raja of Kumaon. For medieval Garhwal *Pre-Mutiny English Records* is helpful for the study of social history.

4. *Accounts of the Travellers :*

The Jesuit priest, Antonio de Andrade, who passed through Srinagar on his way to Tibet, was the first European to visit Garhwal. His letter of 8th November, 1624, was printed in a book form in 1626 at Lisbon. The book is not available, but J. M. Tascano has translated it into Italian and it is a reliable source of information for Shyam Shah's reign.

James Frazer's *An Account of a Journey to the Sources of Jumna and Bhagirathi Rivers* (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII) gives much valuable information. Foster's *Early Travel in India (1583 to 1619)* and Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire (1656-1668)* are of some use. Bernier has also drawn a map of Srinagar. Hardwicke's *The Narrative of a Journey to Shirinagar* (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VI) comes to our aid as a reference work. Raper's *The Narrative of a Survey for the Purpose of Discovering the Source of Ganges* (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI) gives us an account of Gurkha tyrannical rule in Garhwal.

5. *Vamshavalis*

The tradition of keeping family-charts or *Vamsavalis* is very ancient in India. This custom has been followed by the

Brahmana and Rajput families in the hills. Four *Vamshavalis* of the Panwars are given by Atkinson in the *Himalayan Gazetteer*. The first was presented to Captain Hardwicke by Pradhyumnashah in 1796. The second list also, known as Beckett's list, is taken from the official report of the year 1849. The third is William's list from *Memoir of Dehra Dun*; and the fourth, procured by Atkinson from an Almora Pundit, is known as Almora list. Hardwicke's list is most unreliable. The other three lists are more or less similar, but are not quite authentic. One list given in *Sabhasar*, written by Sudarshanshah (1628), agrees with that of Beckett. There are four or five *Vamshavalis* of the Panwars at Devprayaga Laxmidhar Vidyamandir (compiled in 1898 A.D.). Many imaginary Kings are added in these lists to prove the antiquity of the Panwar dynasty. The *Vamshavalis* in *Kanakvansa Kavya* and *Jatiprakash* are based on these, and are therefore unreliable. We can prove the historicity of only nineteen kings from Ajayapala to Pradhyumnashah.

6. Local Traditions

The *Panwaras* (ballads) of the Bhadas (Heroes) may be of great help in reconstructing the history of medieval Garhwal. Among these, those of Mangalsen, Kaffu Chauhan, Bhagtu-Partwa, Rama-Dharni and Teelu Rauteli's exploits seem to be of historical authenticity.

7. Archaeological Sources

Raturi quotes an inscription with a *Sloka* about the origin of the Panwar dynasty. Dabral, after discussing it in detail, doubts its authenticity, and Rahul considers it a forgery. The Panwar ruler of Tehri, Narendra Shah, was quite keen on preserving his family history. Raturi, the Vazir, was a highly placed official. It is strange that if there was such an inscription, why it was not preserved.

The value of the following inscriptions in building up

chronology, and administrative, social and religious history of medieval Garhwal cannot be denied :

1. Devaprayaga stone inscription of Jagatipal (V.S. 1512, 1455 A.D.)—first inscription of a Panwar ruler.

We get two inscriptions, Nos. 2 and 3, of Ajayapala's son Sahajpala, and these are of chronological importance.

2. Stone inscription of Kshetrapala temple (V.S. 1605, Saka 1470, i.e., 1548 A.D.).
3. Bell inscription of Raghunath temple of Devaprayaga (V.S. 1618, Saka 1483, i.e., 1561 A.D.).
4. Jageshwar copper plate grant of Rudra Chandra to Purushottam Pant (V.S. 1645, i.e., 1581 A.D.).
5. Pandukesar Bell inscription of Akbar's reign in Persian—Donated by one Narain Dass.
6. Copper plate inscription (to donee Swami Madho Dass Mahant and Swami Narayan Dass Mahant) of Maharaja Prithvipal Shah (V.S. 1690, i.e., 1634 A.D.).
7. Copper plate inscription of Hatgaon of Rani Karunavati (or Karnavati) (V.S. 1697, Saka 1562, i.e., 1640 A.D.).
8. Silver plate inscription of Mathura Baurani (Bahurani) on Raghunath temple door at Devaprayag (Saka 1586, V.S. 1721, i.e., 1664 A.D.).
9. Silver plate inscription of Gaje Singh Bhandari Vazir (husband of Mathura Baurani) (1664 A.D.).
10. Gorakhnath-cave copper plate inscription, Srinagar, granted by Fateh Shah in Saka 1589, V.S. 1724, i.e., 1667 A.D. (copy with Capt. Shurvir Singh).
11. Copper plate inscription granted by Fateh Shah of Saka 1628, V.S. 1763 (i.e., 1706 A.D.) from Devaprayaga.
12. A Dharma-Patra inscribed on copper plate by one Vidhyadhar for donation of a Dharamshala during the reign of Fateh Shah ; Saka 1628, V.S. 1763, i.e., 1706 A.D.

13. Almora copper plate of Deepchand. Grant to Shivdev Joshi, quoted by B. D. Pandey in *Kumaon Ka Itihas*, page 345, V.S. 1812 (June 1755).
14. One stone inscription of Malidevalagaon of V.S. 1842 (1785 A.D.) is helpful for fixing the time when Jagatprakash of Sirmur came to help the Raja of Srinagar, Jaikirat, against Kumaonies led by the Joshis. His step-brother Pradhyumna was then Raja of Kumaon.
15. Copper plate of Maharajadhiraj Pradhyumnashah Dev—Grant to Gosain Nirmalpurī, Saka 1709, V.S. 1844, i.e., 1787 A.D.
16. A much controversial inscription at the temple door of Keshorai of Saka 1547, V.S. 1682 (1624 A.D.). Due to a lacuna the name of the ruler is not clear. (For controversy see Dabral, *Nai Samagree*, page 627) (Dogadda Garhwal, V.S. 2029).
17. Haridatt was a court poet of Sundarshanshah (1815-1859). He has traced the rulers of Garhwal in a Prashasti in Sanskrit on stone inscription at Barahat Vishwanath temple.
18. One silver coin of Fateh Shah of V.S. 1757 has been found.

Apart from the chronological value, most of these inscriptions are of immense help in understanding the religious devotion and faith of the people. From these we also derive information about various administrative posts and taxes prevalent. From inscription no. 7 onwards, we get orders expressed for "Garhwal Santan", a clear indication of the fact that the people of these parts had by then imbibed a sense of unity and nationality.

Farmans

Saletore has translated one *Misl* of Dara Shikoh to Prithvipal Shah and two farmans of Aurangzeb, one to Prithvipal Shah and the other to Fateh Shah (Proceedings of Indian

Historical Records Commission, Vol. 31, Part 2). These throw light on Garhwal-Mughal relations.

There are many *Adesh-Patras* and *Sanads* granted by the rulers of Garhwal. Of these one granted to the descendant of Kamina of Gujar, Thokdar Vishnusingh Gorla Rawat, and the other to the descendant of Kamina of Dangu, Thokdar Autar Singh Rawat, are of great importance. (See *Nai Samagree* by Dabral, Page 615). Most of these are unpublished.

IV. Problems, Difficulties and Suggestions

Dabral has taken pains to collect much of his source material and so has Capt. Shurbir Singh; still much remains to be done. Many individuals and temples at remote places possess copper plates and beautiful art treasures in the shape of sculptures and paintings. Some graceful and exquisite sculptures are lying uncared for and much of this treasure is being lost. The *Adesh-Patras* and *Sanads* of the Panwars should be collected and published to reconstruct the administrative history of Garhwal. A historical and cultural survey of Garhwal is a crying need but the task is difficult and much patience is needed to pursue this work. The institutions of *Hurkiyas* and *Vadis* is dying out, and if traditions are not preserved in time much history may be lost. To facilitate the work of researchers a research centre, a sort of Museum-cum-Library, should be established so that most of the source material could be found at one place.

Modern Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH (HINDI PERIODICALS)

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THE STATE known as Uttar Pradesh today is considered to be the heart of India. It has been not only the centre of cultural amalgamation and fusion, but also the cradle of various religious ideas and ideals. It was here that the spiritual speculations of the great recluses attained maturity. It was here that Rama and Krishna delivered the message of emancipation through duty and detachment. It was here that Buddha first preached his gospel and attained *Mahapari Nirvana*. Saints like Kabir Saheb and Raidas lived and worked here for the downtrodden and spread the message of universal love. The great Emperor Akbar envisaged here the policy of *Sulah-i-kul* and ordered for its implementation throughout his Empire. The spiritual currents of the nineteenth century renaissance spread widely over this land and found a unique expression in the mystic revelations of the *Radhasoami* faith. This land associated itself with the freedom movement and gave India true lead and guidance at the hour of need. For years together the national plans and policies were devised out in the portals of Anand Bhawan. The land produced gems of humanity like Bismil and Azad who smilingly embraced death to expedite the end of the British regime. It cannot be denied, therefore, that this land played an effective role in the making of India's history and the events in this area guided the destinies of millions and directed the fate of the entire nation.

Yet, strange as it appears, no ruler in the ancient and medieval period of Indian history ever thought of making

a separate unit of this vast and scattered land and no effort was made to construct its history. It was the British administrators who for the first time carved out a province and knitted together this 'heterogeneous slice of Empire', first as North-West Province, and then as United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It was in 1897 when William Crooke first attempted a historical study of this province in his book *The North Western Provinces of India—their history, ethnology and administration*. The veteran leader of men, Maharshi Purushottam Das Tandon, gave this province its present nomenclature 'Uttar Pradesh' after Independence.

There is no dearth of source-material now to know about the history of this land and the people, though an authoritative history of this province has yet to be written. The published source-material is available in abundance in the form of Memoirs, Travel-accounts, Survey and revision of records, Census Reports, Archaeological Survey Reports, Parliamentary Blue Books, Famine Reports, District Gazetteers, Annual Administrative Reports and Settlement Reports. The unpublished source-material is lying in the National Archives, New Delhi, the State Archives, Lucknow, and in the private possession of families and individuals who are residents of this province since long. Sir Douglas Dewar's attempt to classify and arrange the Archival Records up to 1857 is of great help to the researcher of the period. His monograph provides the master-key for access to the files and official records. Original source-material in the form of official records are also available at the district headquarters. It is encouraging to note that our present Government is alive to the need of collecting and classifying this huge mass of material. The committee formed for this purpose under the chairmanship of the eminent historian, Dr. B. P. Saxena, is doing yeoman's service. But there is a vast mass of source-material lying outside the purview of this committee in the form of private papers in the possession of retired Government officials and men of public eminence. Such papers also should be collected and preserved in the State Archives.

For published source-material and research projects on the history of Uttar Pradesh, we find a detailed study in the learned

article of Dr. H. S. Srivastava, Professor of History, Gorakhpur University, and published in *Studies in Modern Indian History*, edited by Dr. S. P. Sen. The learned author has not only covered the list of books and Ph.D. dissertations on the history of the province, but has also classified the source-material on scientific lines. He refers to almost all the research works on the regions of Oudh and Benares, supplementing it by a detailed list of books. He also discusses at length the available source-material for the history of the Rohillas, the Jats and the Marathas in north India. He has discussed the sources of administrative history of the province and has made a reference to the history of education, history of freedom movement and constitutional history. The learned author has not only covered the records and documents available in the State Archives at Lucknow, but has also provided us with an account of the district and miscellaneous records.

All this shows that historical literature has been quite rich and varied, and it covers not only the political and administrative, but also the economic and social aspects of life in the province. It is worth adding that recently some research work has been attempted on the cultural aspects too. The two monographs *Radhasoami Faith* and *Women's Movement* throw ample light on the renascent Uttar Pradesh. Studies in local history have also been encouraged and two research scholars have been awarded Ph.D. degree of the Agra University for their studies on the 'Revenue History of Agra' and the 'Revenue History of Mathura' respectively. Two other research scholars at Agra University are working on the 'Religious life of the people of Uttar Pradesh' and 'Social life of the people of Uttar Pradesh'. A few other scholars are working on the contribution of the various districts to the national movement.

Yet the fact remains that although Hindi is the main language of the people in the Pradesh, scholars have not so far adequately tapped the vernacular source-material while attempting the history of this region. None can deny the fact that Hindi language played a significant role throughout the modern period of Indian history. Hindi language and literature developed to

maturity during this period and became a useful media of popular communication and expression. It clearly ventilated the public opinion and reflected the aspirations of the people. While writing a connected historical account of the period, therefore, scholars cannot afford to ignore the vast source-material available in Hindi writings. The books, periodicals and newspapers in Hindi enable us to have a clear glimpse of the life of the people. It was in the last decade of the eighteenth century that Insha Alla Khan and Lalloo Lal wrote *Rani Ketki Ki Kahani* and *Simhasan Battisi*. Sadal Mishra and Munshi Sada Sukh Lal wrote in the first decade of the nineteenth century *Nachiketo-pakhyan* and *Sukh Sagar*. With Bharatendu there ushered in a glorious era of writing in Hindi; it took a new turn and found expression in drama, short stories, essays, poetic prose and free verse equally. Bharatendu edited three Hindi Magazines—the *Kavi Bachan Sudha*, the *Harishchandra Magazine*, and the *Harishchandra Chandrike*.

The Hindi periodicals of the period are full of relevant source-material on political and socio-cultural history. They were published from various towns and cities of the province and some of them had a wide circulation. They give us a detailed information of the people's tastes and aptitudes, beliefs and customs, and clearly reflect their philosophical and cultural moorings. They throw sufficient light on the community life and the social problems. They tell us that the inhabitants of this province were keenly alive to the national and international questions and were actively associated with the growth and development of the national movement. A study of these periodicals would be very useful for a researcher interested in attempting an authentic story of the State.

The first Hindi periodical was the *Kashi Patrika* published in 1875 from Banaras by Baleshwar Prasad, a friend of Bharatendu Harish Chandra, and the Headmaster of a Normal School. It was on his insistence that Bharatendu wrote his drama 'Satya Harish Chandra' for this magazine. When Baleshwar Prasad was appointed a Deputy Collector, the *Kashi Patrika* was

published by Lakshmi Kant Mishra, a Lecturer in Queen's College, Banaras. It was printed at Chandra Prabha Press, and a few copies of this oldest magazine are still available in the literary section of the Bharat Kala Bhawan. In 1896 another Hindi periodical, known as *Nagri Pracharni Patrika*, was published from Banaras. Babu Shyam Sunder Das was its editor up to 1907, when Radha Krishna Das succeeded him. In 1917 Acharya Ram Chandra Shukla took over as the editor of this widely applauded magazine. The famous Hindi Magazine *Saraswati* was started in 1889 by the veteran Hindi writer Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi from Allahabad. The files of the *Saraswati* are available in the various libraries of the State, and they show how educated Indians upheld the cause of Swadeshi and popularized social reforms in the country. Besides its literary achievements, the *Saraswati* provides us with sufficient source-material on the socio-cultural history of the period.

A list of twentieth-century Hindi Periodicals is given below :

Year	Place	Name	Editor
1900	Agra	<i>Swadesh Bandhav</i> (Fortnightly)	Kunwar Hanuman Singh Raghuvanshi
1905	Banaras	<i>Itihas Mala</i> (Monthly)	Ganga Prasad Gupta
1909	Allahabad	<i>Griha Lakshmi</i> (Monthly)	Sudarshanacharya
1909	Banaras	<i>Indu</i> (Monthly)	Ambika Prasad Gupta
1911	Allahabad	<i>Maryada</i> (Monthly)	Daya Chandra Jain
1915	Shahjahanpur	<i>Vidya</i> (Monthly)	Chandra Shekhar Vidyarthi
1917	Banaras	<i>Achjut</i> (Fortnightly)	Chandi Prasad
1917	Banaras	<i>Arya Mahila</i> (Monthly)	Govind Chandra

In 1915, with a view to inculcate the knowledge of modern science among the people, a magazine was published from

Allahabad. It was named *Vigyan* and was edited by Lala Sita Ram. The idea of female education was gaining ground in the country during this period. The educated and enlightened Indians had waged a war against the custom of *Purdah* and other social evils. The result, though not very fruitful, was quite encouraging and a few women entered the field of journalism. Srimati Yashoda Devi started a monthly magazine from Colonelganj, Allahabad, known as *Kanya Sarvaswa* in 1912. It mainly dealt with the social and health problems of the women. *Stree Dharma Shiksha* was another magazine edited by Srimati Yashoda Devi in 1916. Ratneshwari Agarwal was another illustrious woman who managed and edited the *Vidushi*. It was published from Banaras.

We give below a list of other magazines of the period :

Year	Place	Name	Editor
1916	Banaras	<i>Sanmarg</i> (Monthly)	Vijayananda Tripathi
1916	Allahabad	<i>Vidyarthi</i> (Monthly)	Ramji Lal Sharma
1916	Agra	<i>Veer Sandesh</i> (Monthly)	Mahendrajee
1917	Allahabad	<i>Bal Sakha</i> (Monthly)	Badri Nath Bhatt
1917	Moradabad	<i>Pratibha</i> (Monthly)	Jwala Dutt Sharma
1918	Agra	<i>Dharmabhyudaya</i> (Monthly)	Ishwari Prasad Sharma
1918	Meerut	<i>Lalita</i> (Monthly)	Suresh Chandra Jain

In 1918, a monthly dealing with rural problems, the *Kisanopkarak*, was published from Pratapgarh. Its files tell us of the bold expressions of the writers hitting at the economic exploitation of the peasants by the landed aristocracy, the Zamindars and the Taluqdars. It was edited by Ram Dahan Mishra. In 1920, the famous nationalist writer, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, started a monthly magazine, the *Prabha*, from

Kanpur. The main object of this popular magazine was to inspire men and women to dedicate themselves to the national cause. In 1922, Pandit Dulare Lal Bhargava and Roop Narain Pande jointly edited the *Madhuri* from Kanpur. The magazine dealt with the social problems of the day and gained wide popularity. Later Krishna Behari Misra and Munshi Prem Chand took over as its editors. In 1921, the *Manorama*, a monthly, was started from Allahabad. It was edited by Mahavir Prasad Malviya. In 1926, the *Chand*, a very striking monthly, was published from Allahabad. Its editor was Ram Rakh Singh Sehgal. The 'Marwari Ank' of the *Chand* was a direct hit against the social maladies of the Hindus. Another issue of this magazine was confiscated by the then Government. It was known as the 'Phansi Ank' and was full of patriotic feelings exposing the atrocities and repression committed by the British rulers.

Other magazines of the period are given below :

Year	Place	Name	Editor
1926	Agra	<i>Adarsh Hindu</i> (Monthly)	Prabhu Dayal Mittal
1928	Lucknow	<i>Sudha</i> (Monthly)	Dulare Lal Bhargava
1928	Kanpur	<i>Stri Darpana</i> (Monthly)	Kanhaiya Lal Nigam
1928	Etawah	<i>Rakesh</i> (Monthly)	Roop Nath Sharma
1928	Banaras	<i>Kahani</i> (Monthly)	Radha Krishna
1929	Allahabad	<i>Saheli</i> (Monthly)	Vijay Verma
1930	Allahabad	<i>Maya</i> (Monthly)	Kshiti Mohan Sen
1930	Etawah	<i>Ratnakar</i> (Monthly)	Chhotey Lal Jain
1930	Allahabad	<i>Arunodaya</i> (Monthly)	Girja Datt Shukla
1930	Kanpur	<i>Mansukha</i> (Monthly)	Ram Shankar Awasthi
1930	Banaras	<i>Arya Mahila</i> (Monthly)	Govind Chand Shastri
1930	Banaras	<i>Hansa</i> (Monthly)	Prem Chand

Year	Place	Name	Editor
1930	Agra	<i>Sainik</i> (Weekly) (later converted into a Daily)	Krishna Dutt Paliwal
1930	Allahabad	<i>Bhavishya</i>	Ram Rakh Sehgal

The decade beginning with 1931 saw a plethora of Hindi periodicals in this Province. More than fifty magazines were started during this period. The table is given below :

Year	Place	Name	Editor
1931	Banaras	<i>Lahari</i> (Monthly)	Durga Prasad Khatri
1931	Allahabad	<i>Balendu</i> (Monthly)	Jagat Narain Shankhdhar
1931	Lucknow	<i>Triveni</i> (Monthly)	Phoolwati Shukla
1931	Agra	<i>Agra Samachar</i> (Weekly)	Babu Ram Jadon
1931	Jhansi	<i>Pushya Mitra</i> (Fortnightly)	Mathura Prasad Mehta
1932	Banaras	<i>Jagran</i> (Monthly)	Prem Chand
1932	Bijnor	<i>Prakash</i> (Monthly)	Vishnu Dutt Mishra 'Tarangi'
1933	Aligarh	<i>Prabha</i> (Monthly)	D. D. Vidyarthi & Om Vati Gupta
1933	Etah	<i>Sadhan</i> (Monthly)	Chatur Bhuj Sahai
1933	Moradabad	<i>Arun</i> (Monthly)	Prithviraj Mishra
1934	Allahabad	<i>Madari</i> (Monthly)	Beni Prasad
1934	Agra	<i>Matawala</i> (Monthly)	Har Nath Goel
1934	Agra	<i>Ganesh</i> (Monthly)	N. G. Ranga
1935	Banaras	<i>Uday</i> (Monthly)	Vishwa Nath Prasad
1935	Agra	<i>Diwakar</i> (Monthly)	Vishnu Datta

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Editor</i>
1935	Haridwar	<i>Adarsh</i> (Monthly)	Ram Chandra Sharma
1935	Etawah	<i>Anubhut Yogmala</i> (Fortnightly)	Visheshwar Dayal
1935	Allahabad	<i>Kamalini</i> (Monthly)	Jyotirmayi Thakur
1935	Banaras	<i>Vijai</i> (Monthly)	Baijnath Kedia
1936	Meerut	<i>Anurag</i> (Weekly)	Bhagwat Prasad
1936	Banaras	<i>Kamla</i> (Monthly)	Babū Ram Vishnu Porarhar & Shanti Priya Dwivedi
1936	Agra	<i>Kalindi</i> (Monthly)	Haridatta Shastri
1936	Agra	<i>Kiran</i> (Monthly)	Kaptan Singh Chanchal
1936	Banaras	<i>Geeta Dharma</i> (Monthly)	Padma Narain Acharya
1936	Banaras	<i>Vasundhara</i> (Monthly)	Virendra Malviya
1936	Etawah	<i>Mantavya</i> (Monthly)	Daya Chand Jain Shastri
1936	Moradabad	<i>Shiksha Sudha</i> (Monthly)	Chatur Sen Shastri
1936	Agra	<i>Chitra</i> (Monthly)	Ram Kripal Mehta
1936	Allahabad	<i>Jeevan Sakha</i> (Monthly)	Janki Saran Verma
1936	Agra	<i>Nav Sandesh</i> (Monthly)	Vijay Singh
1937	Lucknow	<i>Sangharsh</i> (Monthly)	Sampurnanand and Narendra Dev
1937	Etawah	<i>Naveen Bharat</i> (Fortnightly)	Choti Lal Jain
1937	Agra	<i>Kirti Kissan</i>	Jai Gopal Saxena
1937	Etawah	<i>Krishak</i>	Daya Nidhi Pathak
1937	Agra	<i>Sahitya Sandesh</i>	Gulab Rai and Mahendra Ji
1938	Banaras	<i>Vidushi</i>	Ratanshwari Agarwal

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Editor</i>
1938	Agra	<i>Asha</i> (Fortnightly)	Roshan Lal Gupta
1938	Agra	<i>Jhunjhuna</i>	Kapur Chand Jain
1938	Agra	<i>Ranglia</i>	Suresh Chand Jain
1938	Agra	<i>Congress Samachar</i>	Surya Varma
1938	Lucknow	<i>Viplav</i>	Yashpal
1938	Bijnor	<i>Prakash</i>	Vishnu Dutt Mishra
1939	Agra	<i>Maral</i>	Kishori Das Bajpai
1939	Moradabad	<i>Vishva Shanti</i>	Jagdish Prasad
1939	Banaras	<i>Kahani</i>	Radha Krishna
1940	Allahabad	<i>Tarun</i>	Krishna Nandan Prasad
1940	Allahabad	<i>Manohar</i> <i>Kahaniya</i>	Dwijendra Nath Nirguna
1940	Allahabad	<i>Rasili Kahaniya</i>	Ram Sunder Sharma
1940	Moradabad	<i>Shiksha Sudha</i>	Acharya Chatursen Shastri
1941	Allahabad	<i>Didi</i>	Rani Girja Devi
1941	Allahabad	<i>Vishva Vani</i>	Vishambhar Nath

Besides these fortnightly and monthly magazines, there were several Hindi Dailies published from different cities of Uttar Pradesh. They provide us not only with the account of day to day events but also with public opinion on the socio-political problems of the day. The editorial columns and articles contributed by people of eminence throw ample light on the history of the period. The oldest of these newspapers was published from Banaras, the *Banaras Akhbar*, in the year 1844. Another important Hindi daily was the *Oudh Gazette*, published from Lucknow. The *Praja Hita* was a daily newspaper published in 1861 from Etawah. In 1865 a daily named the *Tattva Bodhini Patrika* was published from Bareilly.

A list of other important daily newspapers is given below :

*Daily Newspapers Published*A. *From Agra :*

1. *Bharat Khand Amrita*
2. *Vritant Darpan*
3. *Paap Mochan*
4. *Sarv Upkari*
5. *Agra Panch*
6. *Taza Taar*

B. *From Meerut :*

1. *Vidyarthi*
2. *Jagat Samachar*

C. *From Lucknow :*

1. *Bundelkhand Samachar*

D. *From Kanpur :*

1. *Pratap*

E. *From Nainital :*

1. *Samay Vinod*

F. *From Allahabad :*

1. *Vritant Darpan*

Religious Magazines :

The earliest venture in the religious periodicals was *Prem Patra* published from Agra by Rai Saligram Bahadur Huzur Maharaj, the second Guru of the Radhasoami faith, in 1890. In the beginning it was a fortnightly journal. Later, it was published in a book form in six volumes.

A list of other religious periodicals is given below :

<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Editor</i>
1901	Ghazipur	<i>Prem Sandesh</i>	Published by Satsang Sabha
1903	Etawah	<i>Brahman Sarvasan</i>	Brahmdeo Shastri
1915	Agra	<i>Prem Pracharak</i> (Weekly)	Published by Satsang Sabha
1918	Agra	<i>Vedanta Kesari</i>	Shankar Ratna Koshal

Year	Place	Name	Editor
1918	Agra	<i>Dharmabhyudaya</i>	Ishwari Prasad
1919	Gorakhpur	<i>Gyan Shakti</i>	Shiv Kumar
			Shastri
1919	Agra	<i>Vedic Dharma</i>	Damodar
			Satvalekar
1926	Gorakhpur	<i>Kalyana</i>	Hanuman Prasad
			Poddar
1927	Kanpur	<i>Ramayan</i>	
		<i>Kathamritam</i>	
1927	Agra	<i>Sanatan Dharma</i>	
1927	Vrindaban	<i>Prem</i>	Asuda Mal
1933	Mathura	<i>Shreya</i>	Bal Kishan
			Goswami
1934	Banaras	<i>Vishwanath</i>	Maheshwaranand
1934	Dehradun	<i>Paralok</i>	Kedar Nath
			Sharma
1935	Azamgarh	<i>Sandesh</i>	Nand Kishore
			Tewari
1936	Banaras	<i>Geeta Dharma</i>	Padma Narain
			Acharya
1938	Banaras	<i>Dharma Doot</i>	Dharm Ratna
1938	Banaras	<i>Sanmarg</i>	Vijaya Nand
			Tripathi
1939	Allahabad	<i>Karma Yogi</i>	Ram Rakh Sehgal
1940	Mathura	<i>Akhand Jyoti</i>	Shri Ram Sharma

Community Magazines :

1882	Agra	<i>Sanadhyopkarak</i>	P. Shanker Lal
1905	Banaras	<i>Jain Hitaishi</i>	Jugal Kishore
1918	Agra	<i>Jain</i>	Padma Singh Jain
		<i>Pathpradarshak</i>	
1920	Allahabad	<i>Kayastha</i>	
		<i>Samachar</i>	
1920	Agra	<i>Mathur Patrika</i>	Prithvi Nath
1922	Agra	<i>Jati Prabodhak</i>	Bhai Dayal Jain
1925	Agra	<i>Chaturvedi</i>	Visheshwar Dayal

Year	Place	Name	Editor
1926	Agra	Khandelwal Bandhu	Chhoteylal
1928	Agra	Brahman	
1934	Agra	Oswal Sudharak	Chandmal
1940	Agra	Paliwal Bandhu	Roshan Lal

Miscellaneous :

Name of Editor	Year	Place	Name of Magazine
1. Vishambhar Nath	1921	Kanpur	Hindi Manoranjan
2. Sharma Kaushik	1922	Kanpur	Hindi Law Journal
3. Surya Verma	1938	Agra	Congress Samachar
4. Yashoda Devi	1923	Allahabad	Stree Chikitsak
5. Kanhaiya Lal	1924	Kanpur	Stree Darpan
6. Chhotey Lal Nigam	1937	Etawah	Navin Bharat
7. Bankey Lal	1920	Aligarh	Dhanvantari
8. Govind Shastri	1940	Banaras	Grihastha

This clearly shows the popular interest in the growth and development of their mother tongue. It also evinces the literary interest and organizational skill of the people of this province, their inquisitive temperament, aptitude for learning and love of knowledge. The circulation of some of these magazines crossed the provincial limits. They were well received in all the Hindi-speaking areas. It is unfortunate that the complete set of the files of all these periodicals are not available at one place. Even in the offices of those magazines which are still continuing, the complete set is not traceable. But a determined probe by researchers may unearth them if the latter care to visit some of the oldest public libraries in the province and also try private collections.

A very interesting fact that is discernible after a careful perusal of some of these periodicals is that often the writers and the essayists had taken recourse to sharp rhetoric and sarcasm

while dealing with political issues. In order to avoid a direct confrontation, they used symbolic expressions. But all the same their bold criticism and frank appraisal of the current problems of the day cannot but win the admiration of the readers.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH (MODERN PERIOD)

DR. HARI SHANKER SRIVASTAVA

(Gorakhpur University)

THE PRESENT State of Uttar Pradesh comprises an area of about 3,00,000 square kilometers and a population of more than 88 millions (according to the Census of 1971). Its northern regions—Kumaon and Garhwal—consist of hilly areas, while its other borders touch Delhi, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar.

The present geographical complex of the State is the result of a long historical process. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it included the Mughal *Subahs* of Agra, Oudh, Allahabad and a part of Delhi. With the disintegration of the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century the area was ruled by the Jats, the Rohillas and the Nawabs of Oudh. The process of British occupation began after the battle of Buxar (23rd October, 1764) when the British occupied Benares, Chunar and Allahabad.

The Treaty of Allahabad (16th August, 1765) and surrender of the territories dependent on Raja Chait Singh further increased the area of British occupation of this State. As a result of the Treaty of 1801 between the ruler of Oudh and the East India Company, the districts of Gorakhpur (including Azamgarh and Basti), Allahabad (including Fatehpur), Kanpur, Etawah, Bareilly and Moradabad came under the English. The present districts of Saharanpur, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Bulandshar, Agra, Mathura, Etah, Mainpuri and Aligarh came under the English rule after the treaty of Anjangaon (Dec. 30, 1803). Parts of Bundelkhand were ceded after the Treaty of Bassein, and the present districts of Garhwal, Kumaon and Dehra Doon after the Gurkha War. Jalaon in 1840, Jhansi in 1853 and

Oudh in 1856 were further added to the British dominions. The modern Uttar Pradesh then consisted of two provinces—North Western Provinces (Agra) and Oudh. In 1877 Oudh was amalgamated with the North Western Provinces. It was later (1901) called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. With the integration of Indian States after Independence Tehri-Garhwal and Rampur, besides several Zamindari and Taluqdari areas, were added to the State and it was renamed Uttar Pradesh.

It will thus be seen that the formation of the present State of Uttar Pradesh is the result of a long historical process. Sources for the history of the State are therefore of a varied nature. They consist of unpublished manuscripts and documents, records preserved in the National Archives of India and U.P. State Archives, District records, Religious records, Hindi and Urdu literature, newspapers, etc.

The historical growth of the State as referred to above will make it clear that the Nawabs of Oudh, the Jats, the Marathas and the Rohillas dominated the scene in the eighteenth century. For this period we have to depend on books and documents in Persian, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and English. Detailed historical study of the history of Oudh has been done in recent years. We may refer in this connection to the detailed sources given by Dr. A. L. Srivastava in the bibliography of his books *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh* and *Shujaudaulah*, Vols. I and II, and also by Dr. Purnendu Basu in his book *Oudh and the East India Company, 1785-1801*.

U.P. State Archives :

In 1922 the Indian Historical Records Commission urged the Government of U.P. to create a Central Records Office for fostering historical research. The formal orders for its creation were, however, issued twenty-five years later in 1947 and a Keeper of Records was appointed on May 2, 1949, with headquarters at Allahabad. Later, the Office was called the State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, its head redesignated as the Director, and the headquarters shifted to Lucknow in its own building constructed for the purpose. Recently attempts have been made

to establish Regional Archives at other places also. Such Archives have been established at Allahabad and Varanasi, and records of regional interest have been kept there. It is proposed to establish similar offices at Divisional headquarters also.

The State Archives is the storehouse of non-current Government records of the State selected for permanent preservation. The Archives has also got transferred records from the Districts. In addition to this the Archives has also collected private papers, farmans, letters, files of old newspapers, etc.

The State Government has constituted the Uttar Pradesh Regional Records Survey Committee, consisting of Government nominees and eminent historians, with the Director, U.P. State Archives, as its Secretary. Its purpose is to carry out a comprehensive survey of records and manuscripts of historical and scientific value in private custody in the State, and to acquire them if possible, or otherwise to arrange for their preservation and get their microfilm copies.

The Board of Revenue records in the State Archives are the most important. Its proceedings date from 1803 and except for a short gap from April 1829 to July 1830, when there was no separate Board for the Western Province, the proceedings are almost complete. These records, supplemented by District records, will enable us to get a very clear picture of the revenue history of the region.

Voluminous records of Mirzapur and Saharanpur districts are very useful for constructing the judicial history of the State. Similarly, the records of Gorakhpur are very important for the revenue history of the region. Records of Agra Division consist of a large number of customs records. Records of Kumaon Division deal with the administration of the Division from 1815 and also with events that led to the Gurkha War.

Mutiny records in the State Archives are well preserved. Considering that the 1857 rebellion was most widespread in this region, these will be of great help in reconstructing the history of the rebellion. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has published five volumes of source-material on the freedom struggle in Uttar Pradesh and a sixth volume containing the index. These consist of selected original documents for the

1857-59 struggle. Other volumes in the series are yet to be published.

Amongst the Indian States, Rampur records are complete and systematic from 1803 to 1949 and contain interesting details about the social, cultural and economic life of Rampur State.

The State Archives has complete records of the Director of Education (1852-1900) dealing with primary, secondary and college education.

The Secretariat records of different Departments have also been acquired. Special mention may be made of the records of the Departments of Agriculture, Education, Finance, Forest, General, Home, Industries, Judicial, Ecclesiastical, Medical, Local Self-government, and Revenue.

For the pre-Mutiny records reference may be made to a helpful guide—*A Hand Book of English Pre-Mutiny Records in Government Records Room of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* by Douglas Dewar, I.C.S., published in 1919.

In addition to the above documents, the U.P. State Archives has also a large number of documents on the freedom movement, collected in connection with the writing of the history of the freedom movement in U.P. Records connected with the history of this State are to be found also in the Bengal and Bihar Archives and the National Archives of India.

The State Archives has published several useful books. The following are important for students of history :

1. *Calendar of Oriental Records*, Vols. I, II, III.
2. *Catalogue of State Papers*, N.W.P., Pt. I, Judicial Series, 1795-1814.
3. *Documents Relating to Indian Nationalism*, Correspondence between Major E. R. S. Bradford and Kailash Nath Shukla (May 15 to Sept. 10, 1875).
4. *Historical Papers Relating to Kumaon (1809-1812)*.
5. *Henry Wellesley's Correspondence (1801-1803)*.
6. *Press-List of Pre-Mutiny Records (Benares Correspondence)*, Vol. II.
7. *Press-List of Bundelkhand Records (1857-76)*.
8. *Selections from English Records (Benares Affairs)*, Vol. I : 1788-1810, Vol. II : 1811-1858.

District Records :

District records, specially of the older Districts, contain very useful material about the social, economic and political history of the region. They contain records connected with the revenue settlement, the history of Zamindars, police records (dealing specially with political movement, crime, etc.), agriculture, industries, migration of population, etc. Some of the Districts (e.g., Gorakhpur and Varanasi) have also in their records proscribed political and other published pamphlets of the area.

In the records rooms of the District Judges, there are important files dealing with political, revenue, criminal and other cases decided in the courts. The author of this paper found the whole file of the Chauri-Chaura Case (1922), a landmark in the non-co-operation movement.

Similarly the hand-written statement of Jawaharlal Nehru submitted in the court of the District Magistrate of Gorakhpur at the time of his trial on November 2, 1940, was found in the Record Room of the District Magistrate, Gorakhpur. It has since been transferred to Delhi. Documents connected with several such trials are still in the District Records Rooms. It may be noted here that in many cases these records are not well preserved and if prompt action is not taken in the matter these records are bound to be lost.

Records of the High Court and Board of Revenue :

Non-current records of the Board of Revenue have been transferred to the U.P. State Archives. But quite a few records are still at the Record Room of the Board of Revenue, Allahabad. For revenue history and land relationship, these records are very important. Similarly the records of the Allahabad High Court are useful for the judicial history of the region.

Besides these, District Board and Municipal records are lying neglected in different offices. Major J. A. Harrison, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, has done very interesting work on the basis of the Municipal records of Allahabad.

These records if properly used will give us interesting data about urbanization and the history of important cities. District Board records will help us to reconstruct the economic and educational history of the respective Districts.

Religious Records :

Uttar Pradesh is one of the most important centres of Hindu religion. Religious places like Prayag (Allahabad), Kashi (Varanasi), Haridwar, Rishikesh, Badrinath, Mathura, Brindaban, etc., are respected by all the Hindus. *Pandas* of these places have interesting records. Similarly some of the temples like the Vishwanath temple of Kashi and the Badrinath temple have records, which will help us in the construction of a religious history of India. No attempt, so far known to me, has been made to properly use these sources.

Uttar Pradesh in the medieval period was an important centre of the Bhakti-Movement. Kabir, Vallabhacharya, Surdas and others belong to these regions. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries their followers established *Maths*, and some of them wrote hymns in Hindi which became very popular, specially in the rural areas.

Amongst the Nirgun tradition we find quite a few saints propagating the unity of God, caste equality, simplicity in religion and Hindu-Muslim unity on the traditions of Kabir and Nanak. Mention in this connection may be made of Bullah Saheb (1632-1709), Gulal Saheb (1664-1759), Bhikha Saheb (1720-1791), Govind Saheb (1725-1822) and Palatoo Saheb (1757-1825) who lived in the districts of Ghazipur, Ballia and Faizabad ; of Maluk Das (1574-1682), Jagjeevan Saheb (1682-1761) and Sheo Narayan (1718-1791) who lived in the regions of Allahabad, Barabanki and Ballia. They spread their ideas in their respective areas. Their poetical works known as *Banis* are very useful for the social, religious and economic life of the rural folk of the regions.

Radhaswami faith was established in 1861 by Sri Shiv Dayal Singh Ji known as Swami Jee Maharaj with headquarters at Agra. His hymns and discourses, along with those of his

successors, are an important source for the religious movement in the nineteenth century. Ayodhya and Mathura remained the centres of Rama and Krishna schools of Bhakti. Similarly Kashi (Varanasi) remained the centre of Hindu religion and the works of saints and *yogis* of this period are important for religious history.

Press :

Newspapers and journals form an important source of history. Uttar Pradesh has been an important centre of the development of Hindi and Urdu literature. Newspapers published in these two languages are of great value for the history of U. P.

The first Urdu monthly journal published from U.P. was the *Khairkhwahe Hind* from Mirzapur in 1837. Later weekly, monthly and daily Urdu papers were published from Agra, Meerut, Bareilly, Aligarh, Azamgarh, Lucknow, etc. For the social, religious and political awakening and reform movement amongst the Muslims, these journals are of immense value.

The Aligarh movement was inaugurated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98). He wrote many books and articles in Urdu which form the basis and genesis of this movement. His Urdu journal *Tah-Zibul Akhlaq* had a great impact on the Muslim society. The works of Shibli Nomani (1857-1914) of Azamgarh (in eastern U.P.), and the establishment of the *Nadwat-I-Ulama* (Society of Muslim Theologians) at Lucknow and its journal, the *En Nadwa*, and the setting up of another centre of Muslim theology at Deoband (Saharanpur, U.P.) and its publications are very important for the history of the Muslim reform movement.

The first Hindi newspaper from U.P. was the *Benares Akhbar*. It was published from Kashi (Varanasi) in 1845 and was edited by Raja Shiva Prasad Sitare Hind. This was followed by quite a few papers, important among which are the *Sudhakar* (Kashi 1850), the *Suraj Prakash* (Agra 1861), the *Harish Chandra Magazine* (Kashi 1874), the *Hindi Pradeep* (Allahabad 1877), the *Almora Akhbar* (Almora 1871), the *Sarswati* (Allahabad 1900), the *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad 1907), the *Pratap* (Kanpur 1913), the *Aj* (1920), the *Madhwri*

(Lucknow 1921), the *Chand* (Allahabad 1922), and the *Hans* (Kashi 1930).

In the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century there was a movement for social reform amongst castes. This was supported by a number of papers devoted exclusively to the reform of castes or sub-castes. A few amongst these were the *Kayastha Vyavahar*, the *Kanyakubja Prakash*, the *Agrawal Upkark*, etc. Files of these papers will be of great help in writing caste cohesion and caste conflicts in this period. In addition to these, in all important districts local papers were published which highlighted local problems. Some of the important amongst these were the *Swadesh* (Gorakhpur 1919), the *Ballia Gazette* (Ballia 1925), the *Prakash* (Basti 1927), and the *Kanya Kaumudi* (Ghazipur 1878).

Among English newspapers *The Leader* of Allahabad and *The Pioneer*, first published from Allahabad and later from Lucknow, are important for contemporary history. Old files of these newspapers are available at the two district headquarters and also at the National Library, Calcutta, the Nehru Memorial Museum, New Delhi, U.P. State Archives, Lucknow, and the Nagri Pracharini Sabha Library, Varanasi. Many of the files are in a bad state. In the interest of historical research it is necessary to arrange for their better preservation.

Urdu Literature :

Uttar Pradesh has been one of the important centres of Hindi and Urdu literature. Works in these languages form an important source for the history of Uttar Pradesh.

In Urdu poetry we get glimpses of the social, economic and political life of the period. Nazir Akberabadi's (1740-1830) poems on 'Id', 'Holi', 'Dewali', 'Baldeo jee Ka Mela', etc., give interesting insight into the social life of the region. Pandit Daya Shanker Nasim (1811-1843), Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (1827-1887) and M. Ali Asir (1800-1881) give interesting accounts of Lucknow of their times.

In Urdu prose Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Saroor (1787-1867) in his book *Fasan-e-Ajaib* gives details about different professions

of Lucknow. Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar (1847-1902) in *Fasana-e-Azad* has given a picture of declining Lucknow in a sarcastic way. Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa (1857-1931) in his novel *Umarao Jan* has described the life of Faizabad.

Hindi Literature :

Varanasi, Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur and Lucknow of U.P. have been important centres in the development of Hindi literature. We get useful and interesting details about the social, economic and political life of the region from the writings of contemporary Hindi poets, dramatists and specially novelists.

Bhartendu Harish Chandra (1850-1885), who lived at Varanasi, in his dramas, essays and poems gives the deteriorating social and economic life of the people of the region. Social evils, like *Parda*, child-marriage, widow-marriage, caste, Zamindars' atrocities, and other sufferings in rural life have been very well depicted in Hindi novels. Reference in this connection may be made to the novels and stories of Prem Chand (1880-1936) who lived and wrote at Varanasi, Gorakhpur and Lucknow. In his works we find the socio-economic conflict between the Zamindars and the peasants, the economic life of the peasantry of eastern U.P. and the life of the lower middle classes very well depicted. Novels of Bhagawati Prasad Vajpayi (1899-), Bhagwati Charan Verma (1905-), Surya Kant Tripathi Nirala (1896-), Chatur Sen Shastri and others form an important source-material for the social history of U.P.

Sources of the history of Uttar Pradesh, as discussed above, are of various nature and widely scattered. For writing a proper history of the region it requires a team of devoted and sincere scholars who may be able to study the sources in different languages. The people's history of U.P. has not yet been written. Let us hope it will be done in the near future.

SOURCES OF THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF UTTAR PRADESH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

DR. VIRENDRA KUMAR SHARMA

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THE STATE of Uttar Pradesh did not spring to life all at once. The process of its formation started 200 years ago when by the treaty of 1775, the East India Company obtained from the Nawab Wazir of Awadh the modern districts of Banaras, Jaunpur, Ghazipur and a portion of Mirzapur. In the years which followed, the East India Company acquired an extensive territory by conquest and other means. These limbs were joined together one by one by the British and, during the last 175 years, the State, or parts of it, was successively designated as the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, the Upper Provinces, the Western Provinces, the North-Western Provinces and the United Provinces. After the attainment of independence from the British, the United Provinces was renamed as the State of Uttar Pradesh.

When the factories of the East India Company developed into an empire, such a mass of correspondence and documents came into being that Karl Marx was tempted to remark that the Indian Government was transformed by the Board of Directors into 'one immense writing machine'. The great output of this writing machine is fortunately available to historians. A huge mass of original, authentic and contemporary source-materials is in the possession of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, the State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow (formerly Allahabad), the Secretariat Record Room, Lucknow, the Board of Revenue, Allahabad, the Collectorates of Uttar Pradesh, etc., on the basis of which it is possible to reconstruct the land

revenue history of Uttar Pradesh in the nineteenth century.

These source-materials are as varied and rich as they are authentic. They give an account of the men on the spot and of the persons who were at the helm of affairs. Some of these are in the form of unpublished documents, but a lot is available in print as well. The material is available in the form of unpublished and published proceedings of the various Boards of Revenue constituted from time to time, minutes and memoranda of the Governors-General and other high authorities, correspondence of various types, despatches from and to the Court of Directors, published and unpublished Settlement Reports, resolutions of the Government and the Board of Revenue, Proceedings of the Lt.-Governors in the Revenue Department, reviews of the Government and the Board of Revenue, directions to the revenue officers, circulars and directions of the Board of Revenue, reports of Collectors, Settlement Officers and other revenue officers, numerous regulations and Acts, etc.

The source-material can be classified into two heads—primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources can be sub-divided into unpublished documents and published documents. The unpublished primary source-material is in the possession of the National Archives of India and State Archives of Uttar Pradesh only, the latter having the bulk of it. The unpublished material in the possession of the National Archives of India can be classified into the following heads :

- (1) Foreign and Political Department, Secret Proceedings, 1799-1806.
- (2) Foreign Department, Miscellaneous Records (1802-33).
- (3) Proceedings of the Government of India, Home Department, Revenue Branch and miscellaneous records of the Home Department including general letters.

From these, it is possible to obtain some information on the state of revenue administration on the eve of British occupation in the districts ceded to the East India Company by the Nawab-Wazir of Awadh in 1801 and the instructions given to the British officers for the settlement of land revenue in these districts. They also contain an account of the various districts by the Collectors and important information regarding general

revenue matters. The most celebrated of these documents is the Settlement Report, of R. M. Bird, who was the chief architect of the first regular and long-term land revenue settlement of the North-Western Provinces.

The unpublished source-material in the State Archives of Uttar Pradesh can be classified into the following heads :

- (1) Proceedings of the Board of Revenue at Fort William (1803-7), 36 Volumes ;
- (2) Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1807-22), 178 Volumes ;
- (3) Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners for the Provinces of Banaras and Bihar (1816-22), 82 Volumes and one Volume of appendices for 1818 ;
- (4) Proceedings of the Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces (1822-29), 118 Volumes ;
- (5) Proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue on Deputation (1830-31), 13 Volumes ;
- (6) Proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces (1832-55), 582 Volumes ;
- (7) Abstract of the Proceedings of the Sudder Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces (1854-57), 34 Volumes ; and
- (8) Records of the Mofussil Special Commission (1821-30) in five series consisting of 18 Volumes.

The proceedings of the various Boards of Revenue outlined above are the most important source of information for a study of the revenue history of the State during that period. Prior to 1857 hardly any original letter was preserved. These proceedings are copies of the original letters. To be more precise, they are in the form of handwritten proceedings of the Boards of Revenue entered in folio volumes, each running into a few hundred large pages. The index to each volume is in itself a big volume. These proceedings date from 1803 and, with a short gap from April 1829 to July 1830, the proceedings are complete and mostly in a good state of preservation. Prior to April 1855, the correspondence was copied out in full in the proceedings. After that

date, only abstracts of the correspondence were entered. But most of these abstracts are in the nature of calendars. These proceedings contain ample material for writing on the land revenue history of the State for the period they cover. They contain almost all the information one needs. But, for a complete and connected account, one has to supplement the information contained in them by other contemporary and authoritative sources. The records of the Mofussil Special Commission deal with the large-scale transfer of land from the original proprietor-cultivators to Indian officials of the revenue department, their friends, relatives, dependents, influential money lenders, merchants and speculators, and also with this Commission's orders, precepts, decisions and judgments.

The published primary sources make an equally formidable list which includes Parliamentary Papers of Great Britain, Government records and reports, revenue records, revenue reports, settlement reports and various regulations and Acts enacted from time to time for the guidance of revenue officers. The most important of the Parliamentary Papers are the Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company in two volumes, Selection of papers from the Records at the East India House (Volumes I and III) and the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832 (Volume III, Revenue), all published from London. These provide a deep insight into the state of contemporary revenue administration and its demerits, and conflicts and controversies at various levels. Official thinking and policy on revenue affairs both in England and India are also highlighted in these volumes. The correspondence between the Government of India and the Court of Directors regarding revenue matters is reproduced in these papers almost in its entirety.

The Selections from Revenue Records, N.W.P., in three Volumes (published in 1866, 1872 and 1873) are yet another indispensable source of information. The controversy regarding the introduction of a Permanent Settlement in the region under review on the lines of Bengal, some important minutes and memoranda and the circumstances leading to the enactment of

Regulation VII of 1822 and Regulation IX of 1833 which together became the basis of all land revenue settlements made in the State after 1833, are contained in them.

The Settlement reports of various districts constitute the most important single source of information for the study of the land revenue history of the State in the second half of the nineteenth century. These are mini-encyclopaedias and contain practically every information connected with the economic life of the districts. They were all published from Allahabad. While their principal theme is settlement operations, they contain even the political history of the districts from the earliest times to the date of their publication. These settlement reports run into hundreds. The reader nods his head in appreciation of the hard work put in by the Settlement Officers in obtaining the valuable data. These reports are genuine works of tireless and devoted research. So naturally it was mainly on the basis of these settlement reports that the Gazetteers of the various districts of the State were later compiled and edited by persons like Atkinson, Fisher, Conybeare, Hewett, Nevill, D. L. Drake, Brockman and others.

The secondary source-material is not so abundant. Yet it can prove highly fruitful to a researcher. This includes some doctoral theses, published and unpublished, District Gazetteers, research articles and other works.

The doctoral theses approved for the Ph.D. degree include Dr. R. N. Nagar's "History of Land Revenue Administration in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1801-33)", Dr. S. C. Gupta's "Agrarian Relations and Early British Rule in India (1801-33)", Dr. R. K. Gupta's "Revenue History of Kanpur District", Dr. V. K. Sharma's "Revenue History of Mathura District" and Dr. Shiv Narendra Sharma's "Revenue History of Agra District".

Some other authentic secondary sources which a research scholar will find fruitful are B. H. Baden-Powell's *Land Systems of British India*, in three volumes, Dharma Bhanu's *History and Administration of the North-Western Provinces*, R. C. Dutt's *The Economic History of India under the Early British Rule* and *The Economic History of India in the Victorian*

Age, Eric Stokes's *The English Utilitarians and India*, B. R. Misra's *Land Revenue Policy in the United Provinces*, Moreland's *The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces*, U.P. Zamindari Abolition Committee Report, Vol. I, P. K. Chatterji's *The Making of India Policy, 1853-65*, T. R. Metcalf's *The Aftermath of Revolt in India, 1857-70* and J. Raj's *The Mutiny and Land Revenue Policy in Oudh*.

The merit of the secondary sources is beyond question. They are authoritative, being based on a deep, careful and critical study of primary source-material. They have their shortcomings, but they are sure to occur in spite of the best of ability and effort even in the best of research. So the secondary works pose no problem for the researchers.

The same, however, cannot be said of the original source-materials outlined above. To glean and sift material from this intricate maze of documents is not an easy job. This is particularly true of the unpublished documents mentioned above. The language is vastly different from what is in use today. Punctuation marks are generally missing in the hand-written proceedings. The style is clumsy, laborious and ridden with unnecessary formalities. The sentences are extraordinarily lengthy. Vital links are often missing. The figures are often at variance with those available in other sources. One has to possess infinite patience, perseverance, will and ability for hard work while consulting the volumes containing the unpublished proceedings of the various Boards of Revenue. The published primary source-material does not generally present any serious difficulty. Its bulk, however, is time-consuming.

Anyway, these are minor flaws. Once one gets on with the job, the original source-material, both unpublished and published, having a bearing on the subject under review, becomes extremely useful for the genuine researcher. It is an account of the men on the spot who are honest and candid. There is no attempt to hide the truth. Faults are openly admitted and that too with grace. The work of the British predecessors too is severely criticised. The conclusions drawn are often sound. In short, a researcher cannot ask for a better and more abundant mine of information than this primary source-material.

SOURCES OF THE MEERUT CONSPIRACY CASE (MARCH 1929-JULY 1933)

DR. R. C. JAIN

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THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT in India, which had been gathering momentum for some time before 1929, had espoused the cause of the workers and peasants by organising a chain of strikes in several parts of the country.¹ Alarmed at the repercussions of this infant movement, the Government began to haul up the Communist workers and set up special tribunals for their trial. To cap all, the British Government in India came out with a heavy hand on the votaries of the pink ideas, and on 20th March, 1929, arrested a large number of persons and raided hundreds of houses to search out materials that might be repugnant to their imperial design.² In all, thirty-one persons were combed out from different provinces, under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code, i.e., on the charge of entering into conspiracy to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India³ and were brought to Meerut and kept in jail.

The thirty-one accused who belonged to different regions of India were :

Bengal (10) : Kishori Lal Ghosh, Calcutta ; Gopal Basak, Dacca ; Gopen Chakravarty, Dacca ; D. Goswami, Mymensingh ; Shib Nath Banerjee, Khulna ; Phillip Spratt, Calcutta ; Ajodhya Prasad, Calcutta ; Mazaffar Ahmad, Calcutta ; Samsul Huda, Calcutta ; R. R. Mitra, Burdwan.

Bombay (13) : S. V. Ghatge, S. H. Jhabvala, S. S. Mirajkar, G. M. Adhikari, D. J. Tehngdi, K. N. Jogelkar, Shaikat

Usmani, B. F. Bradley, M. G. Desai, A. A. Alve,
G. R. Kasale, S. A. Dange, and R. S. Nimbkar.

U.P. (5) : Dr. Viswa Nath Mukharjee, Gorakhpur ;
P. C. Joshi, Allahabad ; Gauri Shanker, Meerut ;
Dharam Bir Singh, Meerut, and L. R. Kadam, Jhansi.
Punjab (3) : Kedar Nath Saigal, Abdul Majid, and
Sohan Singh Josh.⁴

In June the number of accused mounted to thirty-two with the arrest of Lester Hutchinson. He had come to India, as a free lance journalist and was editor of the *New Spark* which was an organ of the Workers and Peasants Party.⁵ A warrant of arrest was also issued for the arrest of Ameer Haider Khan, a member of C.P.I., but he absconded before he could be brought to trial.⁶

The trial commenced in the Court of D. Milner White, Special Magistrate of Meerut, on original complaint filed on March 15, 1929, by Horton, an Officer on Special duty attached to the Central Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department of the Government of India.⁷ The trial attracted wide attention and on the opening day of the inquiry at the Magistrate's court, the court was packed with Vakils and Barristers.⁸ I was personally present as I was a student of Meerut College which is situated just across the road of the above trial court.

From official side the choice of Meerut as the venue of trial was justified on the ground that in 1928 a conference of the 'Workers and Peasants' Party' had taken place here.⁹ However, the real motive behind the choice, as was generally felt in the nationalist and labour circles in India, was that at Meerut there was no system of trial by Jury. Besides, Bombay and Calcutta, from where most of the arrests on account of the alleged conspiracy were made, were scenes of frequent strikes, and so these places were not deemed to be suitable for a peaceful trial.¹⁰ Thus at a meeting, the citizens of Calcutta and the representatives of the Bengal Trade Unions expressed the view that Meerut was selected as the place of trial "to deprive the accused persons of the benefit of trial by a jury and proper legal assistance".¹¹

The prosecution was headed by Langford James, while the defence was led by K. F. Nariman. The brief of the charge

sheet (para 1 to 4) against the undertrials said :

1. That there exists in Russia an organization called the Communist International. The aim of this organisation is, by creation of armed revolution, to overthrow all the existing forms of Government throughout the world and to replace them by Soviet Republics subordinate to, and controlled by the Central Soviet Administration in Moscow.
4. That in the year 1921 the said Communist International determined to establish a branch organization in British India and the accused Sripad Amrit Dange, Shaukat Usmani and Muzaffar Ahmad entered into a conspiracy with certain other persons to establish such a branch organization with a view to deprive the King Emperor of his Sovereignty of British India.¹²

Early in April, 1929, a number of Indian nationalist leaders agreed to constitute a Civil Defence Committee and to collect funds for the support of these undertrials. Their public appeal was issued over the signatures of Moti Lal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malviya, Srinivas Iyengar, M. A. Ansari, N. C. Kakar, B. S. Moonje and M. S. Aney. A Central Defence Committee, chiefly consisting of prominent Congressmen, was formed to help the undertrials. A sum of Rs. 1500/- was also sanctioned in the A.I.C.C. Meeting held in May 1929 for the aid of the Meerut undertrials.¹³

Outside India the Workers' Welfare League of India, London, took the initiative in constituting a Meerut Defence Committee and organising a defence fund, with Reginald Bridgman as its Secretary.¹⁴ An independent Labour Party conference held on April 2, in a resolution, condemned the 'Intensification of repressive measures' as was evidenced by the recent arrest of political and trade union leaders in India.¹⁵ The workers of other European countries and America also came forward to help. The issue was also raised in the British Parliament. Similarly, defence efforts were made in the Soviet Union also.¹⁶

In a large number of meetings held all over the country,

resolutions were passed to condemn these arrests. Gandhiji expressed the view that the arrests were made by a panicky government to strike terror.¹⁷ Motilal Nehru also denounced the arrest of Indian Communists in the Indian Legislative Assembly of which he was then a member and paid glowing tributes to their courage and convictions.

But these protests from all over India had no effect on the Government which obtained a special sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council to launch the prosecution. After more than seven months of inquiry the case was committed to the Sessions Court of Meerut on January 14, 1930. As a *prima facie* case was not proved against Dharambir Singh, he was discharged at the Magistrate's court level. The Sessions Court took thirteen months in its proceedings and the Judge took another five months in writing his judgment. While the judgment was being written by the Sessions Judge, D. J. Thendgi, the sixty-eight year old engineer, passed away.

The Sessions Court passed various sentences against twenty-seven accused, acquitting Biswa Nath Mukherji, Shib Nath Banerjee and Kishori Lal Ghosh. The sentences were passed against :

1. Muzaffar Ahmad		Transportation for life.
2. S. A. Dange	}	Each to transportation for a period of twelve years.
3. Phillip Spratt		
4. S. V. Ghatge		
5. K. N. Jogelkar		
6. R. S. Nimbkar	}	Each to transportation for a period of ten years.
7. B. F. Bradley		
8. S. S. Mirajkar		
9. Shaukat Usmani		
10. Mr. Abdul Mazid	}	Each to transportation for a period of seven years.
11. Sohan Singh Josh		
12. D. Goswami		
13. Ajodhya Prasad	}	Each to transportation for a period of five years.
14. G. Adhikari		
15. Puran Chand Joshi		
16. M. G. Desai		

17. Gopen Chandra	}	Each to four years R.I.
Chakravarti		
18. Gopal Basak		
19. Lester Hutchinson		
20. R. R. Mitra		
21. S. H. Jhabwala	}	Each to three years R.I.
22. K. N. Sehgal		
23. Shamshul Huda		
24. A. A. Alve		
25. G. R. Kastle		
26. Gauri Shankar		
27. L. R. Kadam		

An appeal was preferred in the High Court of Allahabad on behalf of the accused on March 17, 1933, and as the paper books were all ready and printed, April 10, 1933 was fixed for the hearing of the appeals. But the accused themselves applied for an adjournment of the hearing till after the long vacation to which the Crown council agreed. Accordingly July 14, 1933, was fixed for the appeals, on which date the arguments commenced; they lasted for eight working days and concluded on 21 July 1933.

The case was conducted on a gigantic scale. The evidence consisted of twenty-five printed volumes of folio size. There were altogether over 3500 prosecution exhibits, over 15000 defence exhibits, and no less than 320 witnesses were examined. The judgment itself is in two printed volumes covering 676 pages of folio size.

The four and half year old Meerut Conspiracy Case actually ended on August 3, 1933, when the Allahabad High Court delivered its judgment. The sentences passed by the Sessions Court were drastically reduced by the High Court,¹⁸ The government spent about 18 lakhs on this trial.¹⁹

Sources of the Case

Numerous books have been written on the subject by those personally involved in it, such as Muzaffar Ahmad, Lester

Hutchinson and others. However, the recent transfer of the papers of the Meerut Conspiracy Case from Meerut Courts to the National Archives of India has brought to light hitherto unpublished and unchecked source-material on the case. I wish to emphasize the importance of an analytical study and perusal of this vast material for a proper understanding of a phase of the Indian National Freedom Movement. Broadly, the source-material can be divided into a few categories :

National Archives of India. Meerut courts have sent some 4300 bundles or volumes of folio size to the National Archives of India. They contain court documents in the following categories :

1. *Seized Material*—Material seized during the searches of the houses or offices, etc., of the accused.
2. *Prosecution exhibits*—The number of prosecution exhibits is nearly 3500. They contain seized documents, letters, censored letters from Post and Telegraph Department and correspondence of the accused persons, etc. There is a letter of M. N. Roy (Assembly letter).
3. *Defence exhibits*—The number of defence exhibits numbered nearly 15000.
4. *Witness accounts*—There are 320 witness accounts. They contain statements and evidences from the defence side.
5. *Home-Political files*—There are weekly and fortnightly reports of the Intelligence Department on the political situation created by the Communist bogey.
6. (a) Resolutions at the Meerut Gymkhana conference of the Kisan Mazdoor or Workers and Peasants Party on October 13, 14, 15, 1928 ; speeches of P. C. Joshi and Chaudhry Dharamvir Singh and others. Reports in the papers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Tribune*.
(b) Resolutions at the Jhansi Conference of the Workers and Peasants Party on October 26, 27, 28, 1928 ; speeches of Jhabwala and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
7. Affidavit of Chaudhry Dharamvir Singh saying "He was never a Communist, nor does he understand Marxism, he is a Congressman".

8. Whitley Commission Reports—Royal Commission for Labour.
9. Files of the Labour Department.
10. Reports of the Law Department.
11. Charge sheets against the accused.
12. Records of Defence Lawyers' arguments as those of K. F. Nariman, M. A. Ansari, Kitchlew, Pandit P. L. Sharma, Shiv Prasad and others.
13. Records of arguments of Mr. Langford James and Mr. Kherat Nabi, Public Prosecutor.
14. Interestingly there are letters of H. G. Wells and Harold Laski and others written to the Editor in the *Manchester Guardian* in October, 1929. There is a letter of Arch Bishop of York referring to the letter of H. G. Wells for further details regarding the case. H. G. Wells had questioned :
 1. Why had the case been instituted at Meerut, which has no legal jurisdiction ?
 2. Why had bail been refused to the accused ?
 3. Why were the prisoners being ill-treated ?
- 15 (a) Interestingly there are letters of Einstein and Romain Rolland also.
 - (b) Appeals and statements made by different organisations like the Communist Party of Great Britain (C.P.G.B.), Labour Research Department (L.R.D.), Workers Welfare League of India (W. W. L.), Pacific Trade Union Congress of Communist International, Amsterdam (P.P.T.U.S.), and Communist Party of China (C.P.C.), and C.I. (Communist International) in defence of the accused.
16. Judgments in the case : Committal orders from Mr. Milner White.
Sessions Court Judgment.
High Court Judgment in 576 pages.

India House Library, London

1. Hailey collection—Hailey, Governor of U.P. His correspondence with Lord Irwin regarding the case.

2. Halifax collection—Correspondence.
3. Temple Wood collection—Correspondence.

It would express the side of the government and the preparations made for the case.

Reports of the proceedings of the case in leading newspapers as—

1. Bande Mataram
2. Amrita Bazar Patrika
3. Forward
4. Bombay Chronicle
5. Hindu
6. Tribune

Reports and commentaries in Foreign journals and newspapers as—

1. Labour Monthly
2. Daily Worker
3. The Times
4. Manchester Guardian
5. Vanguard (Germany)
6. *Iprecor* (International Press Correspondence from Berlin)

Personal papers of M. N. Roy—Institute of Renaissance, Dehradun.

Congress Party Reports—Reports of the Meerut Defence committee headed by Motilal Nehru, specially the 1929 Congress Session Reports.

Documents of the British Communist Party—Marx Memorial Library, London.

Reference to the Meerut Conspiracy Case in the documents of Russian Communist Party.

Texts of the reactions and speeches of famous jurists like Vithalbhair Patel and Motilal Nehru and Harold Laski, and others Speeches on Public Safety Bill.

Debates in the Assembly in India and the British Parliament, specially on the question of removal of the Europeans from India who tried to participate in the Indian National Freedom movement. Three Britishers were accused in the

Meerut Conspiracy Case.

Writings and collections by Muzaffar Ahmad like 'Imperialism from the Dock'. He wrote after the C.P.I. and C.P.M. split, and attacked Dange and others while defending his stand.

Work of Hutchinson on Conspiracy at Meerut : It is a piece of self-glorification. He was involved despite his not being a communist.

Articles by S. F. Broelly in the *Daily Worker*.

Memories of S. A. Dange in the *New age*.

Works of Clemence Dutt (*Conspiracy against the king*).

Works of Spratt—(*Blooming of India*).

Documents collected by Dr. G. Adhikari.

C.P.I. publications like *Our First Secretary* S. C. Ghate.

In the end, I would like to suggest that interviews with persons still alive would throw light on the case. Survivors like Chaudhry Dharam Vir Singh at Meerut, Dr. Adhikari in New Delhi, S. A. Dange and others. Personal interviews would bring to light new facts.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Muzaffar Ahmad, *Forward*, 'Communist Challenge Imperialism from the Dock', p. III.
- ² For details of these searches and arrests see *Forward* (Calcutta), March 21, 1929.
- ³ 'The Section 121-A of the I.P.C. under which these arrests and searches were made related to waging or attempting to wage war or abetting the waging of war against the King. The trial under this section could take place in any part of British India, irrespective of the place where the offence was committed. *Forward* (Calcutta), March 21, 1929.
- ⁴ Mr. Grenar, Home Member in the Council of Governor-General said, in the Central Assembly, "these persons were arrested on the basis of a charge of 'conspiring to deprive the King Emperor of his Sovereignty of British India'. The complaint was made in the Court of the District Magistrate of Meerut and the court in ordinary course of law under the Cr.P.C. issued warrants. In pursuance of these warrants house searches and arrests were made in different

parts of India (for full text see *Forward*, March 22, 1929).

⁵ Lester Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut* (1935), London.

⁶ Government of India, Home Dept., *Communism in India* (1935), p. 179.

⁷ *Indian Quarterly Register*, 1929, Vol. I, p. 68.

⁸ 'Communist Challenge Imperialism from the Dock', p. VIII.

⁹ See text of Home Member's statement in Central Assembly, *Forward*, March 22, 1929. This action as was stated by Earl Winterton in the House of Commons on March 21, 1929, had the "full assent of Lord Peel". To another question put by a Laborite M.P. as to whether the action was instigated by the Home Govt., the Earl refused to answer this 'wholly improper question'. See *Forward*, March 23, 1929.

¹⁰ *Forward*, March 23, 1929.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Indian Quarterly Register*, 1929, Vol. I, p. 68.

¹³ B. Pattavi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress* (1946), Vol. I, p. 343.

¹⁴ 'Communist Challenge Imperialism from the Dock,' p. xii.

¹⁵ *Forward*, April 4, 1929.

¹⁶ L. P. Sinha, *The Left Wing in India* (1965), p. 234.

¹⁷ D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, Vol. II (1951), p. 356.

¹⁸ *Allahabad Law Journal*.

¹⁹ *Distt. Gazetteer, Meerut*.

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT IN UTTAR PRADESH

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THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT was, in the opinion of many, the most important event in the struggle for independence launched by the Indian National Congress. Many books have come out on the subject. The first work on the subject may be taken to be the Government of India's White Paper, *Congress Responsibility for Disturbances, 1942-43*, published in February 1943 by the Manager of Publications, Delhi. This book was published by the British Government for propaganda purposes in India as well as among the people of the Allied Countries. This book tries to prove that the Congress in general and Gandhi in particular were responsible for the violent acts in 1942-43, although they were ostensibly speaking of non-violence. The book is full of passages from Gandhi's writings and excerpts from the proceedings of the Congress meetings. But these are more often than not taken out of context to prove the pre-conceived charge of the Government. The purpose of publishing the book would become clear by looking only to the concluding lines of the book which reads, "Only one answer can be given as to who must bear the responsibility of the mass uprising and individual crimes... that answer is—the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi."

In December 1943, when the war situation had eased in favour of the Allies and Wavell had taken over as Viceroy, Devadas Gandhi published under the title, *India Unreconciled*, (New Delhi, *Hindustan Times*), speeches, statements, proceedings of conferences, political correspondence, press comments and

other relevant matters compiled by him. The book mainly covered the period subsequent to the Cripps Mission and, in the words of the editor, was "under a single cover the minimum material that may be regarded as essential to the study of events of the past fifteen months of the country". Later Devadas Gandhi published a second edition and brought this documented history of Indian political events from the crisis of August 1942 to February 1944. The angle from which the collection of these documents was presented was that of an average Indian nationalist. But the editor took care to present both sides—the British and the nationalist. "The innuendoes and aspersions against Gandhi and the Congress are there as much as the answers, and the case of the Government of India fully stated."

But the bulky volume published by Devadas Gandhi was not, nor claimed, to be exhaustive. A large portion of relevant material was buried in the secret official files. These secret official documents which constituted a large volume of evidence were in addition to the "information" on which *Congress Responsibility for Disturbances of 1942-43* was published by the Government in February 1943. About the additional bulk of unpublished secret documents, it was stated in the preface to the White Paper mentioned above that the Government did not purport to disclose all the information in its possession and that "there was a large volume of evidence which it was undesirable to publish at present". As Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, in his letter dated February 19, 1944, addressed to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "From August 1942 onwards the intelligence organization of the Central and Provincial governments were engaged in collecting evidence of Congress responsibility from every possible source and a year later the volume of this evidence had become so large as to make it difficult to handle it as a whole". It was, therefore, decided to select an independent and judicial-minded officer and place him on special duty both to marshal evidence and present it in a connected and readable form and also to report how far in his opinion the material in question corroborated the conclusion of the White Paper.

The Government of India, in consultation with the Secretary

of State for India, selected Thomas Wickenden, ICS, a judge in the Central Provinces, to study the documents and prepare a final report. Wickenden in his report which was completed on November 29, 1943, dealt with almost all important topics including the character of the movement, time factor, Gandhi and non-violence, programme, planning, motives, and course of events, and gave his own conclusions. He also appended to his report all evidence, namely, the secret documents supplied by the Government containing intelligence reports, interrogation of leaders of the movement, intercepted letters of prominent persons, speeches of Congress leaders and circumstantial evidence on which he had based his conclusions. This report also throws a new light on opinions and actions of almost all national leaders, living and active in 1942.

Wickenden, on the basis of evidence available to him, admitted that the movement of 1942 was greatly intensified owing to the secret activities of the Congress Socialists, workers of the Forward Block and Revolutionary Socialists. Students who had the natural leanings of the youth to the influence of the revolutionary elements played a very important role in the movement.

Wickenden's *Report on the Disturbances of 1942-43* (New Delhi, Government of India Press, 1944, Most Secret) is available in *Quit India Movement, British Secret Report*, edited by P. N. Chopra (Faridabad, Thomson Press, 1976) and is of great value to scholars for a study of the role of the socialists in the movement.

After the Second World War when the British started negotiating with Indian leaders and political parties and the revolutionary heat had cooled down a little, some participants of the freedom struggle wrote on the subject. The *Indian Struggle of 1942* by Darbara Singh (Lahore, The Hero Publications, 1946) was the first book of this kind as the author claimed in the preface. But it was in *The '42 Rebellion* by Govind Sahai (Delhi, Raj Kamal Publications, 1947) that for the first time extensive data about the movement were collected from non-official sources scattered almost all over India. The book carries

a Foreword written by Jayaprakash Narayan who dwelt upon the significance of the Quit India Movement.

The above named two books were written with great nationalistic fervour, and although they give a good deal of useful information on the subject, they cannot be called as pieces of research dealing with all aspects of the movement in a dispassionate way.

Sometime later books based on research work came out in the market. The most well known of these works are :

Amba Prasad, *The Revolt of 1942*, (Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1958).

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A. Moin Zaidi, *The Way of Freedom, An Enquiry into the Quit India Movement*, (New Delhi, Orientalia (India), 1973).

The movement might have been the spontaneous reaction of the people. But the idea and the guidelines for such a movement were formulated by the Socialists. While the senior Congress leaders were incarcerated soon after the passing of the Quit India Resolution by the AICC on 8 August 1942, a majority of underground leaders who tried to give direction to the movement were either Congress Socialists or their sympathisers. It is a pity that no attempt has so far been made to write on the role of the Socialists in the Quit India Movement.

As the Socialists had been advocating preparation by the Congress of a mass struggle, and were themselves making plans for revolutionary activities on a large scale long before the outbreak of World War II, the source material on the role of the Socialists in the movement would pertain to a fairly long period.

The files of the *Congress Socialist*, the official organ of the Congress Socialist Party, would provide several articles and statements on the question of war resistance and the issue of taking advantage of a war in which Britain could be involved in order to advance the cause of independence. As the possibility of the outbreak of war grew stronger, the paper became more

precise in its proposals and put forward a clear line of action to be adopted by the nationalists to further the aims of the freedom struggle. One such proposal was put forward by Rammanohar Lohia in his articles entitled 'War Register', 'Not An open Question', 'Clip the Thin Edge of the War Wedge', and 'False Hopes', published in *The Congress Socialist* of April 9, 16 and May 21, 1939. In these articles, the author not only opposed any possible move for a compromise with the British during the war but also presented to the Congress a concrete programme of war resistance. The Lohia plan of war resistance and revolt was later presented before the AICC meeting in June 1939 by the Congress Socialist Party in the form of a resolution, requesting "immediate and effective counter-preparation by the Congress to give effect to its oft-declared policy of war resistance". The CSP also requested the Working Committee of the Congress to appoint a "War Resistance Sub-Committee" to co-ordinate Provincial Sub-Committees in a campaign on the national level "to resist war preparations and activities, if need be, with their lives" (*Congress Socialist*, June 25, 1939).

The Jayaprakash Narayan Papers preserved in the Nehru Museum and Library, New Delhi, contain documents which give details about the Socialist plan of revolt and have letters and articles meant to persuade the Congress leadership to make preparation for a militant mass movement when the war would break out.

After the outbreak of the war, the CSP organs, the *Congress Socialist* and the *Sangharsha* (Hindi), began to put up more definite plans of a nation-wide revolt. For example, the 18th March, 1940, issue of the *Sangharsha* gives details of preparation for a nation-wide struggle. When in 1941 Gandhi launched the individual Satyagraha, the Socialists were very much dissatisfied with this kind of limited movement. Their dissatisfaction with the Individual Satyagraha is clear from the disparaging statements of the Socialist leaders about this Satyagraha which were common features of the columns of the *Congress Socialist* and the *Sangharsha* during this period. This dissatisfaction and frustration with the Gandhian Individual Satyagraha caused a

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The files of the *Congress Socialist*, the official organ of the Congress Socialist Party, would provide several articles and statements on the question of war resistance and the issue of taking advantage of a war in which Britain could be involved in order to advance the cause of independence. As the possibility of the outbreak of war grew stronger, the paper became more

precise in its proposals and put forward a clear line of action to be adopted by the nationalists to further the aims of the freedom struggle. One such proposal was put forward by Rammanohar Lohia in his articles entitled 'War Register', 'Not An open Question', 'Clip the Thin Edge of the War Wedge', and 'False Hopes', published in *The Congress Socialist* of April 9, 16 and May 21, 1939. In these articles, the author not only opposed any possible move for a compromise with the British during the war but also presented to the Congress a concrete programme of war resistance. The Lohia plan of war resistance and revolt was later presented before the AICC meeting in June 1939 by the Congress Socialist Party in the form of a resolution, requesting "immediate and effective counter-preparation by the Congress to give effect to its oft-declared policy of war resistance". The CSP also requested the Working Committee of the Congress to appoint a "War Resistance Sub-Committee" to co-ordinate Provincial Sub-Committees in a campaign on the national level "to resist war preparations and activities, if need be, with their lives" (*Congress Socialist*, June 25, 1939).

The Jayaprakash Narayan Papers preserved in the Nehru Museum and Library, New Delhi, contain documents which give details about the Socialist plan of revolt and have letters and articles meant to persuade the Congress leadership to make preparation for a militant mass movement when the war would break out.

After the outbreak of the war, the CSP organs, the *Congress Socialist* and the *Sangharsha* (Hindi), began to put up more definite plans of a nation-wide revolt. For example, the 18th March, 1940, issue of the *Sangharsha* gives details of preparation for a nation-wide struggle. When in 1941 Gandhi launched the individual Satyagraha, the Socialists were very much dissatisfied with this kind of limited movement. Their dissatisfaction with the Individual Satyagraha is clear from the disparaging statements of the Socialist leaders about this Satyagraha which were common features of the columns of the *Congress Socialist* and the *Sangharsha* during this period. This dissatisfaction and frustration with the Gandhian Individual Satyagraha caused a

serious shift in the CSP stand from accepting a non-violent mass Satyagraha to adopting violent tactics, for winning independence. This is evident from a plan of armed revolt proposed by Jayaprakash Narayan found among some papers seized from him, in July 1941, when he was a prisoner in the Deoli Detention Camp, while he was attempting to pass them over to his wife who had come for an interview. The Home (Political) Files nos. 43/96/41—Poll. (I) and 8/15/1641—Poll. (I) give details of the incident and the Jayaprakash plan of reorganization and consolidation of the CSP by roping in workers of the terrorist organisations like the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association.

The Home (Pol.) F.N. 7/7/1939 reveals that the Socialists had been making comprehensive preparations since the outbreak of the war. Their plan included open defiance of Ordinances and Defence of India Act, wide-spread anti-recruitment propaganda, boycott of British goods, organization of peasant agitations and fomenting of general strikes among industrial workers. As is revealed by the report of the Intelligence Department, the Party Executive of the Socialists appointed a "War Sub-Committee", with headquarters in Bombay and branches in Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Calcutta, Madras and Lahore. In fact a day before the historic AICC meeting in Bombay, the Socialists at a CSP camp held at Poona made a "comprehensive plan of revolt" under the leadership of Yusuf Meherally. But the police got the information and took steps to crush the plan (vide G. S. Bhargava, *Leaders of the Left*, Bombay, Meherally Book Club, 1951, p. 7).

A pamphlet entitled, *The Socialist Way* (Lucknow, Dularelal Bhargava, Ganga Pustakamala Karyalaya, 1946), written by Jayaprakash Narayan reveals that after the passing of the Quit India Resolution by the AICC, the CSP leaders outside jails decided that the struggle of 1942 was a Congress struggle and nothing was to be done exclusively by the Party or in the name of the Party, and the CSP, therefore, did not maintain any separate organisation during the revolt.

The information about the activities of the underground Socialist leaders and workers in the movement in the United

Provinces is available from the periodical reports of the United Provinces Government to the Government of India from the time of the outbreak of the revolt. The reports from other Provincial Governments should also be studied for discovering the links of the movement and activities of revolutionaries in different parts of the country.

The Congress Rebellion in Azamgarh, August-September 1942 (published by Superintendent, Printing and Stationary, U.P., 1957), as recorded in the diary of R. H. Niblett, who was Collector at Azamgarh during the movement, is a faithful record of events, that, as the diary shows, almost crippled the civil and police administration in Azamgarh during the movement of 1942. This diary also gives some details and consequences of the incidence of the movement of 1942 in the adjoining districts of Ballia, Ghazipur, Fyzabad, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Benares, Jaunpur and Allahabad, which were the main centres of revolt in the United Provinces.

Articles written by the underground leaders and published in the newspapers after the war give details of the revolutionary activities during the movement. For example, the article entitled, 'Voice of Freedom, Mystery Behind the Congress Radio Propaganda in 1942', by Miss Usha Mehta, serialized in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), of April 23 and May 7, 1946, gives a vivid description of the propaganda activities of the underground revolutionaries in 1942. Achyut Patwardhan, a Socialist leader and an underground revolutionary during the movement, also wrote about his experience as an underground Socialist worker in a number of articles in the *Janata* in 1946, under the pseudonym, "Jai Hind". These articles were full of revolutionary fervour and were written with a view to kindle patriotic feeling among the readers.

Even when the movement of 1942 had subsided, the CSP leaders continued their efforts to keep the movement alive and made preparations for another "major offensive". Such efforts and preparations are revealed from Jayaprakash Narayan's letters to "All Fighters of Freedom", written in 1943 (reproduced in Jayaprakash Narayan, *Towards Struggle*, Bombay, Padma Pub-

lications, 1946). In 1943, Jayaprakash Narayan also addressed a letter "To American Officers and Soldiers" with a view to enlist the sympathy and support of the Americans to the cause of the movement. This letter was also later published in the *Janata* in 1946. The Home (Pol.) File No. 3/64/43—Poll. (I) has attached to it revolutionary pamphlets entitled "*A.B.C. of Dislocation*" and "*Instructions—Sabotage of Communications*", which were seized by the Government in searches at Nasik and in the Punjab, containing, in detail, the guidelines for organising Azad Dastas or bands of guerrilla fighters and carrying out sabotage of communications as planned by the Socialists. The Home (Pol.) File no. 3/50/44—Poll. (I) contains a letter dated 29 November, 1942 addressed to the American people appealing for support to the cause of India's freedom. This letter is marked as "Appeal no. 6" and was made on behalf of the All India Congress Committee and was signed by Aruna Asaf Ali, an underground revolutionary, who later joined the Socialist Party.

The Price of Liberty, compiled and annotated by Yusuf Meherally in 1948 (Bombay National Information and Publications, 1948), is a collection of documents about trials and sacrifices of many freedom fighters and includes the stories of freedom fighters like Rammanohar Lohia, Asoka Mehta, Ramnandan Mirra and Jayaprakash Narayan, who took part in the Quit India Movement. The documents contained in this book were collected from a variety of sources—newspaper reports, autobiographical descriptions of experiences, statements in courts, eye-witness accounts, diaries and letters.

Inside Lahore Fort (Madras, Socialist Book Centre, 1959) is the published prison diary of Jayaprakash Narayan written during the days of his incarceration after his arrest in 1944. Besides giving a picture of the conditions under which the freedom fighters of the Quit India Movement lived and suffered, the book enables the reader to understand the Socialist point of view on most vital issues at a critical period of the history of the country. The book includes some letters of Jayaprakash Narayan written from the Lahore Fort prison. It also contains excerpts from a letter of Rammanohar Lohia to Professor Harold

J. Laski and reproduces a letter of Ramnandan Misra to the Chief Minister of the then Punjab Government.

Gandhi's Correspondence with the Government, 1942-44, (Ahmedabad, Navjivan Publishing House, 1945) provides the views of Gandhi and the British Government on the revolutionary activities in the period under review. The volumes of the *Indian Annual Register* and various newspapers of the country would provide the news about the Congress meetings, statements of British Government as well as Congress leaders and news about various incidents connected with the movement. A study of foreign newspapers would provide some details of various aspects of the movement, which otherwise cannot be gathered from the Indian newspapers because of strict censorship on news considered prejudicial to the interest of the British Government.

The recently published *India, The Transfer of Power, 1942-47* edited by N. Mansergh (Her Majesty's Stationery Office), especially its first three volumes—Vol. I, The Cripps Mission, January 30 to April 30, 1942; Vol. II, The Quit India Movement, April 30 to September 21, 1942; and Vol. III, Re-assertion of Authority, Gandhi's Fast and the succession to the Viceroyalty, September 21 to June 15, 1943 respectively—contain useful sources for writing the history of the Quit India Movement. The sources include official and unofficial correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, extracts from the reports of Governors and minutes of the War Cabinet. These sources which were not available to Justice Wickenden corroborate his finding that the movement was greatly intensified owing to the participation of the Congress Socialist Party and other revolutionary elements.

The four volumes of *Dictionary of National Biography* edited and published by S. P. Sen, Director, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, contain biographical sketches of many leaders of the Quit India Movement.

Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India* (London, Meridian Books, 1956) and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's *India Wins Freedom* (New York, Longmans Green & Co., 1960) give first hand accounts of the events preceding and during the

passing of the Quit India Resolution by the AICC. These works also give an assessment of the consequences of the movement. In Winston S. Churchill's *The Second World War*, Vol. IV, 'The Hinge of Fate' (London, Cassel & Co., 1951), one can find the British point of view on the movement.

Many people who took part in the movement are still alive. Some of them have written autobiographical accounts. For example, D. P. Mishra's *Living an Era* (Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1975) gives intimate details of personal experiences about the movement. Additional information about the Quit India Movement can be collected through personal interviews with many living participants of the movement. An epic description of the attitude and role of the Congress Socialists has been attempted in *Meri Teri Uski Baat* (Hindi), (Lucknow, Viplav Prakashan, 1974), a novel of the late revolutionary and Hindi writer Yashpal.

Ancient Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR IN THE ANCIENT PERIOD

5 • Jammu and Kashmir

Dr. S. C. RAY

(Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta)

THE CULTURAL sources of information for the early history of Kashmir can be divided under two broad heads—literary and archaeological. The literary sources again can be divided under two groups—material made as accretion left by foreigners and indigenous literary works. Under foreign sources can be grouped the information supplied by Greek, Chinese and Muslim writers. Indigenous sources are quite extensive. These include local *Puranas* and *Nakshatras*, works of celebrated poets and dramatists of local origin, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, the subsequent *Rajatarangini*, and stray references to the valley in the Sanskrit literature of the main land of India.

Archaeological sources consist of inscriptions, coins, monuments in situ and described authors' own observations. Some of the historians are sceptical of the *Alakhayastan* work, the *Hexateuch*, Herodotus, Diodorus and others who make some merely references to the valley of Kashmir and its people. Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.) seems to have mentioned some idea about its geographical location which lay below the sources of the Indus (Vitasta) and of the Saravati (Sudarshana) and of the Adia (Cravati).¹

The Chinese seem to have known Kashmir from a very early time. They appear to use the term 'K'ia' to denote Kashmir as well as other territories situated on the northern confines of India.² In 631 A.D. Hsien Tsang visited Kashmir and stayed there for two years. His account of Kashmir is very elaborate. He speaks about the geography of the valley.

Ancient Period

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THE PRINCIPAL sources of information for the early history of Kashmir can be divided under two broad heads—literary and archaeological. The literary sources again can be classified under two groups—notice made or accounts left by foreigners and indigenous literary works. Under foreign sources can be grouped the information supplied by Greek, Chinese and Muslim writers. Indigenous sources are quite extensive. These include local *Puranas* and *Mahatmyas*, works of celebrated poets and dramatists of local origin, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, the subsequent *Rajataranginis* and stray references to the valley in the Sanskrit literature of the main land of India.

Archaeological sources consist of inscriptions, coins, monuments in situ and unearthed materials from excavations. Some of the historians and writers of the Mediterranean world, like Hecataeus, Herodotus, Dionysios and Nonnos make some cursory references to the valley of Kashmir and its people.¹ Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.) seems to have possessed some idea about its geographical location which lay “below the sources of the Bidaspes (Vitasta) and of the Sandabal (Candrabhaga) and of the Adris (Iravati)”.²

The Chinese seem to have known Kashmir from a very early time. They appear to use the term ‘Ki-pin’ to denote Kashmir as well as other territories situated on the northern confines of India.³ In 631 A.D. Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir and stayed there for two years. His account of *Kia-shi-mi-lo* is very elaborate. He speaks about the geography of the valley,

the habits of the people, past history of the land and condition of Buddhism prevailing in his time.⁴ Next important Chinese notice comes from the annals of the Tang dynasty which refer to events of the Karkota period.⁵ In the middle of the eighth century A.D. Kashmir was visited by Ou-Kong. His account is notable for mentioning various routes penetrating into the kingdom and throwing light on the condition of Buddhism prevailing in his time.⁶

All that the early Muslim writers like Al-Masudi, Al-Qazwini, Al-Idrisi tell is that the valley was enclosed on all sides by mountains through which led a single passage closed by a gate.⁷ But a very detailed and accurate account is preserved in Alberuni's (eleventh century A.D.) *Kitab-ul-Hind*. He did not visit the valley but collected his informations from reliable sources. Among other things he discusses the strategic situation of the country, its physical features and political divisions. His description of the life of the people, their habits, etc., deserve special notice.⁸ The Venetian Marco Polo (thirteenth century A.D.) also did not visit the valley but speaks of some of the habits and customs of the Kashmirians, their food and drink and of their physical features. He mentions that there were a number of towns and villages in the country, there were forests and desert tracts and strong passes, and the people had no fear of anybody and kept their independence with a king of their own who ruled and did justice.⁹

Local literature of Kashmir is rich with information about old Kashmir. The oldest extant text, the *Nilamata-purana*,¹⁰ deals in several chapters with the sacred legends pertaining to the origin of the country, the ordinances of Nila, the lord of Kashmir Nagas, and the principal legends connected with them. The earlier portions of the book speak most probably of the lacustrine origin of the land, a fact supported by geological researches. The second section speaks about the religious rites and ceremonies of early Kashmir. The last section, as Buhler points out, 'forms a real mine of information regarding the sacred springs of Kashmir and their legends'. The exact date of the *Nilamata-purana* cannot be ascertained. Kalhana mentions it as an old work on

which he drew. In general he records the names of the principal litterateurs and their compositions from the time of Jayapida onwards. He does not refer to the *Nilamata-purana* among them which perhaps goes back to an earlier period, the seventh century A.D. or the beginning of the eighth. In its present form, however, the possibility of the *Nilamata-purana*, containing interpolations of subsequent periods, cannot be ruled out.

Damodaragupta's *Kuttanimata Kavya* (eighth century A.D.) contains a vivid picture of the contemporary socio-economic life. While dealing with the practice of prostitution it incidentally throws light on the habits and manners of the people, dress and ornaments, food and drink, position of women in the society, medium of exchange and similar items.¹¹

Another helpful author is Kshemendra (eleventh century A.D.) whose works are full of facts about the country and the life around him. In his *Desopadesa*,¹² he dilates upon the daily life of different sections of the people inhabiting the valley, such as cheats, misers, prostitutes, bawds, ostentatious voluptuaries, students of Gauda, degraded Saiva *gurus* and so on. His *Narmamala*¹³ is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the bureaucracy before the time of Ananta. Another work, *Kalavilasa*, is written in the same strain. In the *Samayamatrika*,¹⁴ one of his most original compositions, he describes the snares and trickeries of courtesans and gives amongst others an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kankali, through the length and breadth of Kashmir. The numerous places visited by her can easily be located on the map. More than once curious touches of true colour give additional interest to these references. To Kshemendra's poem, for example, we owe the earliest mention of the Pir Pantsal route and its hospice, and of the ancient salt trade which continued to follow this route till recently. Another work, *Lokaprakasa*, usually assigned to Kshemendra, contains many interesting information about social, administrative and economic conditions. But the text seems to be heavily interpolated.¹⁵

Our next authority is Bilhana (eleventh century A.D.) who left the pleasures of his home in quest of poetic glory in an alien court. The eighteenth canto of his poem *Vikramankadevacarita*¹⁶

contains a charming account of the land he left behind. Apart from mentioning some of the political events of his time, he refers to the geography and climatic condition of the valley, habits and customs of the people and above all the highways of contemporary India which linked Kashmir with the remaining parts of India.

Another writer, Mankha (twelfth century A.D.), leaves a description of Kashmir and its capital Pravarapura in the third chapter of his work entitled *Srikanthacarita*.¹⁷

Mankha's contemporary was Kalhana, whose Chronicle, the River of Kings, tells us more than anything else of Kashmir and her early inhabitants. The first three books of the *Rajatarangini*¹⁸ contain much that is myth mixed with history. This does not mean that the portions are devoid of any interest. On the contrary, they have great value, not only because they refer to the names of Asoka, Kanishka and Mihirakula, but also because they present us with some detailed account of the general condition of the kingdom in the centuries preceding the accession of the Karkotas. The next three books which cover a period extending from the accession of the Karkotas to the establishment of the Lohara dynasty, contain much that is history, fairly authentic. In his seventh and eighth books, he expresses a very high degree of historical insight as well as scholarship. To write the later books, he had information from his elder contemporaries and his own experiences. Though Kalhana lays main emphasis on the political history, he incidentally tells enough about the geographical condition, social and economic history and religious beliefs of the people. Among the special merits of Kalhana as a historian, Stein correctly mentions his impartiality and independence, the individuality of his characters, the accuracy of the genealogical statements, a high sense of historical truthfulness in the later parts of the Chronicle and an exactness of topographical details.

Kalhana's chronicle comes to a close with the year 1149-50 A.D. For the rest of the period of the Hindu rule, one has to rely on Jonaraja, the court poet of Jain-ul-Abidin. In his *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*¹⁹ he takes up the thread of history where Kalhana leaves it and carries it up to his master's reign. His

account, though brief, is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses the mind of a historian.

The rest of our Kashmirian sources include a large number of local *Mahatmyas*, that deal with various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kashmir.²⁰ Though they use older materials, in their present form they appear to belong to a comparatively recent period. Except the *Haracaritacintamani*²¹ of Jayadratha which relates in thirty-two cantos many legends of Siva and his *avataras* connected with famous Kashmirian *tirthas* and which is generally considered to have been written in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., there is none that can be assigned with reason to the pre-Muslim days.

Though geological formations of the pleistocene age are somewhat similar to the neighbouring Polwar region (District Rawalpindi, West Punjab) where traces of Palaeolithic culture have been found, Kashmir has not yielded so far any palaeolithic tool to confirm human occupation at this early stage. It had, however, a full fledged neolithic culture which can be traced out from the examination of a number of sites extending from Anantanag to Pampur. The most important of these sites is Burzahom where excavations have revealed the existence of a neolithic people who were, in the first period of occupation, some sort of pit dwellers. In a later period the pits were filled up and the people had their dwellings built of mud and mudbricks. Besides pottery, the people used polished hand axes, mace-heads, etc., and bone tools of a large variety which are remarkably fine and singularly distinctive. In a still later period, large menhirs were erected. The culture found at Burzahom is different from the neolithic culture found in other parts of India and the excavators of Burzahom have unearthed unique archaeological remains in the form of pottery, stone tools, bone tools and allied materials for the study of the earliest inhabitants of the valley.²²

The other archaeological remains belong to the historical period. Of these, Harwan has yielded unique art remains in the form of moulded brick tiles, besides structures made of stone.²³ These may reasonably be assigned to the early period of the Christian era. Next come the archaeological remains of Ushkur

showing influence of later Gandhara art. From the eighth century A.D. up to the end of the Hindu rule, Kashmir has an unbroken series of *stupas*, monasteries and temples²⁴ which not only show the religious tendencies of contemporary time, but also the existence of a heterogeneous style of art, which largely borrows its features from the art traditions prevailing in the plains of India, while retaining many characteristics of the art of its north-western neighbours. The bronzes of the early medieval period are useful sources for the study of Buddhism, Buddhist iconography and art of metallurgy.

A few inscriptions of ancient Kashmir have survived but they do not have much historical significance.²⁵ Coins, generally crude, lack variety of types as well as artistic quality.²⁶ Nevertheless they portray the general economic condition of the country and confirm the succession of rulers from the time of Samkaravarman onwards as evinced by the Chronicle of Kalhana.

Majority of the sources mentioned above have been effectively utilised by modern historians while writing the history of Kashmir. Troyer translated for the first time in an European language the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana and made it available to oriental scholars. Wilson's essay²⁷ based on the Chronicle of Kalhana was an important work on the political history when it was written and only further researches in the field diminished its great value. Cunningham's work on the coins and archaeological sources still forms the basis of all researches on the subject.²⁸ Cole's monograph on Kashmir monuments²⁹ is a learned work and his photographs keep a faithful record of the monuments of his time, many of which have crumbled afterwards. Stein has done significant work on the history of Kashmir. He published a critical text of the *Rajatarangini* in the year 1892. Eight years later his English translation of the *Rajatarangini* with copious notes, coupled with an analysis of the political history, a memoir on the ancient geography and a monograph on the ancient monetary system came to light. He utilised all available literary sources and considerable archaeological materials to write his account which though written many years back is still the most substantial and authentic work in the field.³⁰ Dayaram

Sahni made a critical survey of the archaeological remains standing in situ and his articles embodying the results of his own field work are of a very high order.³¹ To R. C. Kak we owe an account of the unique art-remains of Harwan.³² H. C. Ray wrote an useful account of the political history of Kashmir in which he utilised for the first time some relevant Muslim sources.³³ S. C. Ray, in his *Early history and culture of Kashmir*, attempted to present a comprehensive picture of ancient Kashmir, covering political, social, religious, administrative and cultural history, based upon literary as well as archaeological materials.³⁴ Pratapaditya Pal's *Kashmir Bronzes* is a notable work in the concerned field.³⁵

In spite of the work done so far, there is scope for undertaking further researches on the history of early Kashmir. The discovery of unique remains from Burzahom has been reported. But a full report on the materials has yet to come. The literary works of the valley require to be more intensively studied. Some of the non-historical works like those of Abhinavagupta make some cursory references which throw interesting light on contemporary social life. These require to be thoroughly investigated. A large number of archaeological sites, evidently containing ruins of the early historic period, may be excavated to yield additional materials.

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EARLY HISTORICAL SOURCES OF JAMMU, KASHMIR AND LADAKH

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THE SCOPE of the study, classification and a critical estimate of the early source-material of the history of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh cannot be confined to a single pattern of investigation in view of the fact that before these three important regions of Northern India were integrated into a single socio-political entity, they were historically quite distinct and significant clusters of culture in their own regions. In order to arrive at a general statement of the source-material with regard to these regions it is necessary to locate and describe the sources relevant to each.

While the data pertaining to the early history of Kashmir are abundant, the materials for reconstructing the ancient history of Jammu were inadequate till recently. Fortunately, our recent researches have disclosed several hitherto unknown and unverified historical materials throwing welcome light on many dark corners of the history of Jammu. Likewise Ladakh, which was still recently an obscure area in the field of research, has also yielded a number of ancient Buddhist material rendering the task of reconstruction of the history of the region easier than before. Thus it is now possible to write a connected narrative of the history of these three regions with the help of the known and new materials. The present study attempts to prepare a survey of the early sources of these three regions at the territorial and chronological levels.

KASHMIR

Foreign Sources

As regards the sources of the early history of Kashmir, they may be divided into two groups : foreign and indigenous. The former consists of the writings of the Greek, Chinese and Muslim authors. The indigenous source-material may be obtained from the Vedic texts, the Jātakas, the *Mahāvamsa*, etc., apart from the well-known *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana.

An interesting feature of the early Greek sources lies in the absence of any reference to Kashmir by Alexander's¹ chroniclers when he invaded India and marched from Taxila to Hydaspes (Jhelum) so close to the confines of Kashmir. In fact, the first Greek reference was made by Hekataios who mentions Kashmir as Kaspapyros, a linguistic form which phonetically is nearer to the one used by Laugakshi. Contemporary and later evidences are of Herodotus who mentions Kashmir as Kaspattyros and Ptolemy² who makes a mention of Kashmir as a land which extended beyond the borders of Multan. Ptolemy refers to two closer regions of Kashmir, Arakees and Abisares which linguistically correspond to Urasha and Abhisara. Incidentally, Laugakshi Mani (200 B.C.) in his Vedic Kalpadruma³ makes reference to Kashmir as *Kashapeenam*, a genitive plural which means "the people of Kashmir". Almost all the Greek⁴ sources are in conformity with each other about their descriptions of Kashmir and also with the most important local descriptions available in the Laugakshi Vedic Kalpadruma.

It appears that the Chinese were not aware of the geographical location of Kashmir before the sixth century. The annals of the Tang dynasty take note of Kashmir, because an Indian envoy visited China sometime around 541 A.D. The most important and far dependable Chinese account of Kashmir is left behind by Hiuen Tsang⁵ who was perhaps the first Chinese who entered the Valley as a pilgrim from Urasha and lived in Kashmir for two years. In his account he calls Kashmir as Kia-shi-mi-la. Hiuen Tsang's travelogue does not confine itself to the description of chronological events of seventh-century Kashmir but his choreographic description of the land and the

detailed account of its people is revealing. Hiuen Tsang developed considerable respect for the Kashmiris for their learning, but was dejected at the plight of Buddhism in the country. Hiuen Tsang refers to the advent of Buddhism in Kashmir and describes the way Buddhism flourished in Kashmir during the reign of Asoka. The most notable reference Hiuen Tsang makes is with regard to the fourth Buddhist Council which was held in Kashmir during the reign of Kanishka.

The other important Chinese account of Kashmir is left behind by another Buddhist pilgrim named Ou-Kong.⁶ He came to Kashmir in 759 A.D. This was the time when Kashmir was at the zenith of her imperial glory under the rule of the Karkotas.⁷ Ou-Kong was not as perspicuous as Hiuen Tsang in his observation, yet his data about contemporary Kashmir are valuable. Most probably it was sometime around Ou-Kong's visit that Lalitaditya sent an embassy to the Tang court, which seemingly finds mention in the Tang annals.

Possibly for its inaccessibility the Muslim annalists before Al-Beruni did not make any reference to Kashmir. Al-Masudi⁸ and after him Al-Qawi and Al-Idrisi,⁹ who probably travelled down to the Indus, also did not refer to Kashmir. The first Muslim writer who provides a detailed account of Kashmir is Al-Beruni. Al-Beruni¹⁰ in his account sheds considerable light on the social structure in Kashmir, the entrance-gates and watch towers and their administration, besides Calenderic system in vogue in his time.

Indian Sources

Barring the more formal and regular Indian sources, of which there is a paucity in Indian historiography, there are ample reference-materials which have a bearing on the history of Kashmir. The Rigveda¹¹ refers to the Vitasta as one of the main rivers among the *Saptha Sindhu* (seven rivers). Yaska¹² (500 B.C.), the great grammarian of the Vedic literature, also makes a mention of Vitasta as a large river. The Rigveda¹³ next refers to a river named Marudvradha which flows from the

north to the south and joins the river Chandrabhaga ("Chenab"). The *Atharva-Veda* and *Shatapathabrahmana*¹⁴ allude to about the highest peak of Banihal, Havprabhranishna and Manoravasarpna which denote Naubandhana-Shikhara in the *Nilamata Purana*¹⁵ and also in the *Mahabharata*.¹⁶ The place is still known in the Kashmir language as Nawbhandan. The *Aitareya-Brahmana*¹⁷ makes a reference to the land beyond the Himalayas as 'Parena-himavantam'. In the same Brahmana the sage Vashishta Satya-havya refers to a land of Himachala as the land of Devas in the extreme north. This doubtlessly reveals the knowledge that the Vedic sages had about Kashmir. The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* makes a direct reference to the habitation of the Madra people in the extreme north and this reference is also corroborated by the *Nilamata Purana*¹⁹ where one Kasyapa is found to have enquired of the Madras to his son Nila. Hillebrandt²⁰ shares the opinion that Madras were Kashmiris.

In the era before Panini (500 B.C.) Kashakritsna grammar seems to have referred to Kashmir in a grammatical aphorism. Panini²¹ makes a mention of a number of Ganas in which he refers to Kashmir and Patanjali (200 B.C.) in his commentary on Panini also mentions Kashmir. The *Ramayana*²³ of Valmiki also makes a reference to Kashmir and the *Mahabharata*,²⁴ not only mentions Kashmir, but details out its geographical situation. The *Mahavamsa* recounts that Asoka, the Mauryan Emperor, sent a Buddhist Missionary named Majjhantika to Kashmir in 245 B.C.

It appears from the Jataka²⁵ stories that Kashmir once constituted a part of the Kingdom of Gandharas. Certain Puranas have mentioned Kashmir and furnished some historical materials with regard to the country, which are, however, unverified. Among them the *Vayu-Purana*,²⁶ the *Bhagavata Purana*,²⁷ *Padma-Purana*²⁸ and *Vishnu-Purana*²⁹ are worth noting. Varahamihira (500 A.D.) in his *Brihatsamhita* includes Kashmir in the north-eastern division. Bhartrihari in his *Sringar-Sataka* refers to Kashmir in the context of saffron. Sri-Harsha in his *Ratnavali* describes the superiority of the saffron of Kashmir both in its colour and aroma. Magha³⁰ in his *Sisupala-Vadha* describes Kashmir as 'the lap of nature'. The *Bhamini-Vilasa*³¹ also

mentions Kashmir for its superior variety of saffron. The *Siva-Bharatam*³² and the *Gita-Govinda*³³ also contain all allusions to Kashmir.

Though the Sanskrit literary works do not furnish us with adequate authentic geographical and cultural materials about Kashmir, considerable reference is available with regard to Kashmir by the Tantra. The Tantra does not only specify the geographical location of Kashmir but gives a considerable description of the internal geographical features of territories which still constitute Kashmir. *Sharada-mathamabhyā Kunkumadri-tatantakahtavat Kashmira Deshahsyat Panchasat yojana tam.*

From the Sarada-Math (North-West) to South-East, the foothills of Kunkumadri (Bannihal) is the area which covers five hundred yojanas.

This reference clarifies that most of the area of present Dardistan was included in the geographical boundary of Kashmir. The term used *Kunkumadri* is indicative of the south of Kashmir, for when we travel from Pampore, the mainland of the saffron cultivation, we do not come across any mountain range till we reach the lower elevations of the Bannihal. On the south-east extends the mountain ridges of Gashbror (Prakasa-bhattarika), but the south runs into a stretched plain right up to the rise of the Bannihal.

The most dependable materials are, however, furnished by the writers of the land itself. So far as the early sources are concerned the *Nilamata-Purana* may be taken as a primary one. In spite of its being an admixture of a variety of materials relating to rituals and legendary tales, it has a substratum of the early history of Kashmir. The *Nilamata* supplies the information about the gradual development of the land of Kashmir as in its south-eastern sector as a human settlement. It also furnishes information about the socio-political control of the Nordic Nagas and their administrative authority unlike any other Indian Purana. In fact, an indepth study of the *Nilamata-Purana* will be rewarding for resuscitating the history, culture and religious conditions of the land.

In the early 200 B.C., the sage Laugakhsi of a great calibre

composed a systematic collection of the four Vedas and constituted a detailed Karmakanda in consideration of the socio-religious needs of the people of Kashmir. This system is unique in nature and remained fortified only in the Valley. His religious injunctions reflect the close contact of the country with the early Vedic Age. In his system he introduces a particular hymn to be only recited by Kasyapinam³⁴ which means the people of Kashmir. The case form used is 'genitive plural' which certainly indicates all the people of Kashmir. The word *Kasyapinam* is phonetically closer to *Kaspapyros* and *Kaspatyros* of the early Greek writers (*supra*).

Before we take up the works of Kshemendra and Kalhana, mention may be made of the *Kuttinimata* and *Shambhalimata* of Damodara Gupta, who happened to be the minister of Jayapida (779-813 A.D.). Damodara characterises the social behaviour and devalued moral of the people of higher society, which suggest the rapid decline of the great Karkota rulers of Kashmir. Kshemendra with his sharp intellect and sense of understanding and satire authored, *inter alia*, *Samaya Matrika*, *Desopadesa* and *Narmamak* which constitute valuable sources of the history and geography of Kashmir. Somadeva's *Katha-Saritsagara* is also an important work for the topography of Kashmir, but not so much as Kshemendra's *Samaya-Matrika* and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. Bilhana's *Vikramanka devacharita*, an epic history of the Chalukya dynasty of the South, is of considerable value and its eighteenth chapter amply deserves perusal for gaining a knowledge about the condition of Kashmir during the age of Kalasa and Harsha.

For the comprehensive information of early history and geography of Kashmir, Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* is the only primary source. Though the early part of his work is based on the legend and hearsays, it is by and large the most valuable and dependable as a source of the history of Kashmir during ancient and medieval times. Kalhana starts his early records right from the *Mahabharata* and describes Gonanda as the contemporary ruler of Jayasimha in 1150 A.D. Mankha's *Srikantha*, a work later than *Rajatarangini*, gives a beautiful description of

Pravarasenapura, a city where literary activities flourished ignoring the system of authority and political control. Jonaraja (d. 1459), the court-historian of Zain-ul-Abedin (1420-70), wrote the history in continuation of the *Rajatarangini* up to the end of his master's rule.* Jayadratha's *Haracharitchintamani*, written towards the close of the twelfth century, is also of importance; though the book does not yield much material for the history of Kashmir, it contains valuable data regarding the geography and topography of ancient Kashmir. Mention may be made in this connection of the Mahatmyas or religious records of the Kashmiri shrines. Though a few of them are above textual corruption, they may yield important information if careful investigation is made in their literary-cum-linguistic form and content. Dr. Buhler was the first European scholar who valued their historicity and Sir M. A. Stein drew much materials from them in his edition of the *Rajatarangini*. Sir Stein numbers them fifty-one, but their number exceeds more than sixty-nine.

Sources of the history of Kashmir, if properly explored, may furnish many data regarding the life and culture of the people of this land, such as the language, Laugakshi Karma-kanda, Abhinava Gupta's *Tantralok* (especially the sixth and the succeeding volumes) and rites and rituals. About the language of Kashmir, most scholars following Dr. Grierson have regarded the Dard language as the source of Kashmiri language. This is not correct. Kashmiri language is more akin to early Vedic language and has closer linguistic association with the north-east belt of Indo-Aryan languages rather than the north-west Dardic linguistic belt. In fact, the early linguistic settlers of this valley were Nordics and their language was early Rigvedic. Modern Kashmiri language is developed from this Rigvedic language. This view is supported by the language of this land having a sizeable Indo-European vocabulary and also a substantial Vedic glossary. The fact remains that this language does not agree with any modern Indo-Aryan languages nor does it have any linguistic

* Thereafter Srivara brought this history down to 1486 and the fourth chronicle, begun by Prajyabhatta was completed by his pupil Suka, a few years after the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar in 1586. *Editor.*

affinity with the Dard Group.

The Laugaksha system of the Karmakanda being an admixture of early Tantric cult and Vedic sacraments is unique in nature and really constitutes the backbone of Kashmiri Pandit Culture and its historical importance cannot be brushed aside. This religious system, which emerged around 200 B.C. is practised only in this valley, and it surprisingly still continues even now. It is not unlikely that some of the rituals and sacraments of this system might have remained prevalent during the Vedic period. In any case, the Pandit system is an important institution which can throw much light on the remote past. Laugaksha has a lot of information about Nordic Nagas who once dominated Kashmir prior to the Rigvedic Aryans.

The third important source is Abhinava Gupta's *Tantraloka* of the tenth century A.D. The *Tantraloka* is in reality an encyclopaedia of socio-religious matters relating to the conditions of contemporary Kashmir; though its early volumes deal with the basic doctrines of Saivism, the sixth and the succeeding volumes furnish valuable data regarding the socio-religious history of early Kashmir.

Lastly the existing rituals of this land deserve a careful study by the historians for having an understanding of the gradual development of the socio-religious systems of this land. The rituals are of two categories, religious rituals and sociological rituals. So far they have been ignored by the historians. Together with the modern Kashmiri Pandit community they require a thorough study by us.

JAMMU

The historical sources of Ancient Jammu are still under investigation. This is a great surprise that the rule of the Dogra Kings of about one hundred years has not been of much help in this regard. Except the *Gulabanama*, which deals with the life and works of Maharaja Gulab Singh, no other work of historical nature has come down to us.

The copper-plate title deeds of the tenth century A.D. of Chamba throw some light on early Jammu history. In the early fourteenth century Amir Khusrau mentions about the language of Dogari, which manifestly relates to Dugar Desh and Dogra. In other words this people as well as their language were well known in India.

Shri Nargisdas³⁵ Nargis in his *Tawasekh Dogardesh* tries to build up early sources on the fragments of legendary tales which does not stand the test of historiography. He being conscious about the racial stock of Dogra as Surya-vamsi (of the Sun Dynasty) connects the Jammu history with an Ayodhya king, who in the great Battle of Mahabharata was killed. One of his successors was said to have left Ayodhya for Kongada where he married the daughter of the Kongada chief. In the same lineage and genealogy Bahulochan and Jambulochan, two princely brothers, laid the foundation of Bahu city and Jammu city. Since Bahulochan died without any heir the authority of Jambulochan extended to Bahu city also but the nomenclature of the country remained after the king Jambulochan.

The *Gulabanama* of the nineteenth century³⁶ cannot be claimed to be an authority on the early source of the Jammu history. According to Frederic Drew,³⁷ Jammu being in between Saransar and Mansar must have been known in older days as Drigart, 'the country of the two hollows'. Shri Dharma Chand Preshant³⁸ in his *Duggar-Sabda-Vivechana* tries to prove that the Dogaru people are migrants from Dungarpur State of Rajputana, but his view is untenable because it is contrary to the evidence of the two copper-plate³⁹ title deeds of Chamba. King Saila Varma of Chamba (920-40 A.D.) mentions the Chief of Durgara. Besides, the historical evidence clearly confirms that the nomenclature *Dungarpura* of Rajasthan is of a much later origin and therefore this view does not merit acceptance.

The earliest historical source of Dogar-desh (Jammu) and its surrounding topography is still preserved in the *Nilamata-Purana*,⁴⁰ but unfortunately not much investigation has been made in this regard. According to the *Nilamata-Purana* the sage Kasyapa speaks to Nila, the king of Kashmir, about the sanctity of

the Madra-desa,⁴¹ the land lying between the Iravati (Ravi) and the Chandrabhaga (Chenab), its metropolis being Sakala (Sialkot). Thus the location of Dogar-desh is determined⁴² as between the Iravati (Ravi), Toushi (Tawai), Devika and the Chandrabhaga (Chenab). This hydrography⁴³ is closely connected with the situation of ancient Jammu territory, and evidently proves the correctness of the *Nilamata-Purana*⁴⁴ about the geography of Jammu. *Nilamata*⁴⁵ as a commendable source of the ancient history of Dogardesa supplies the nomenclature of this land as Durgadvara,⁴⁶ which is supported by the two copper-plates mentioned above.⁴⁷ The phonetic proximity between *Dugar*, *Dogar* and *Durgadvara* is worth noticing and we believe that the first two forms have been derived from the last one, i.e., *Durgadvara*. *Nilamata's* geographical description of Jammu is valuable, but it demands a thorough study. In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* during the reign of Harsha (1089-1101) the eight kings of the mountain principalities, viz., Nyabbapura, Champa, Ballapura, Rajapuri, Lohar, Urasha, Kanda-Desa and Kashtvat came to Kashmir to pay their respect to the said king. If we rely on M. A. Stein, *Nyabbapura*⁴⁸ is the scribal error for *Jyabbapura*. From the statement of Kalhana it appears that Jyabbapura and Chamba are close to each other. Thus the possibility of the nomenclature *Jammu* having been derived from the name of the King Jambulochana is still doubtful.

LADAKH

The early historical sources of Ladakh are very little known to us. According to V. S. Agrawal the nomenclature of this land is a derivative of Sanskrit 'Lalataka' which means an eye on the fore-head. Probably the physical geography and its elevated location may have been responsible for this name which was given to it by the early settlers. Linguistically, however, the view of Agrawal is not beyond the range of possibility. Incidentally, a linguistic-cum-historical investigation in the Ladakhi language, a sub-dialect of the Tibetan language, and works written in it is expected to be rewarding.

The earliest historical notice of Ladakh is perhaps met with in the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien, who visited Ladakh in 400 A.D. He appears to have called this country as *Kia-chha*. Fa-Hien⁵⁰ mentions that the country had a king and Buddhism was the predominant religion. In the seventh century a more renowned Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, paid a visit to this land and furnished much valuable socio-religious information about Ladakh. In the eighth century,⁵¹ Mongolian Buddhist, along with a few Nestorian Christians and Zoroastrian Monks are believed to have entered into Ladakh.

The Chronicles of Ladakh were unknown to the historians till 1866 when Hermann Schlagintweist obtained in Ladakh La-Dvagr (Ladakhi Chronicles) and published them along with a German translation. Probably Marx was the next missionary visitor who got two rare manuscripts of *La-Dvags-Rgyal-Sabs* (the Chronicles of Ladakh) in 1890. Francke, in his missionary expedition, consulted various manuscripts and completed his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* and *History of Western Tibet*.

A great misfortune of Ladakh is that its early sources were destroyed by the ruthless crusade of Skardu ruler, Ali Mir, who invaded Ladakh in 1630 A.D. He did not spare anything there ; even all the religious and historical records were thrown into the river Indus. Francke in his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* has tried to trace the early records of Ladakh and Tibet and has rebuilt fragmentary history with the help of the Tibetan Chronicles up to 650 A.D. The chronicles of the ruling dynasties of Ladakh⁵² keep its history up to date since 820 A.D. to 1531 A.D. till the invasions of Mirza Hyder Dughlat. This Muslim invasion is recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

S. S. Gergan,⁵³ a native historian of Ladakh, has recently published the *History of Ladakh* in the Ladakhi language. He avers that the early race movements in Ladakh were undoubtedly of the Indo-Aryan people. His work on the history of Ladakh is an improvement over the previous histories written by Indian and foreign writers. The discovery of the rock edicts of the Nestorian Christians in Armenian script goes to his credit. Being in Tibetan Gergan's book has not been known beyond the circle of Tibetan knowing persons. If it is translated into English

and other Indian languages several items of important historical information are expected to be disclosed.

Numismatic and Archaeological Sources

The numismatic evidence of ancient Kashmir furnished by the coin of the Indo-Greek, Scytho-Parthian and other rulers throw considerable light on the early history of this land. Indo-Greek coins confirm the fact that there was a flourishing trade between Kashmir and Gandhar. These coins must have been imported into Kashmir by the traders but early Scythian coins duly testify that they were the rulers of this land. The old traces in the Burzahom (2500 B.C.) excavation can confirm this fact but early coins must have been of gold. The Kushan period was the early golden period of Kashmir as all routes of trade with central Asia and also in India must have brought great prosperity to Kashmir since the coins of this Age were of gold. Later Kushan rule was not on the other hand so prosperous as coins coffered so far found are of copper. Copper coins of Toramana were prolific and continued to be in currency even during the Muslim rule in Kashmir. However, Parvarsena II (son of Toramana) struck his coinage in gold and silver. The coins of the Karkotas were struck in gold and copper. Some members of the succeeding Utpala dynasty and the lines of Yasakara and Parvagupta also struck coins, mostly in copper. The numismatic evidence serves two-fold purpose of history : firstly it establishes facts of chronology, and secondly, it testifies to the region's prosperity due to trade and commerce, as well as import and export. The Indo-Greek coins were probably brought by Kashmiris through traders who were exporting luxurious articles to the neighbouring king. Jammu and Ladakh have not yielded any numismatic material so far.

Archaeology

The Excavations at Burzahom (16 miles to the east of Srinagar) have given a new dimension to the proto-history of Kashmir. De Tena first brought out the importance of this

site in 1939. This is one of the earliest Neolithic culture in the north-west of India which goes back to about 2000 B.C. The excavated finds include earthen pots, stone tools, chisels, adzes, harvesters, mace heads, and winter dwelling pits : and they may be associated with the early Nordic Nagas of Kashmir. Apart from Burzahom as many as eleven sites of cognate nature have been located, but they are still unexcavated.

Harwan (Shdarhatwan), another old site, has yielded, *inter alia*, several remains of the Kushan period. The earliest phase of the culture of this site has been fixed at 100 B.C. to 200 A.D. It is undoubtedly important and needs further investigation. The stupa of Ushkar in Baramulla and the one recently found at Silagam near Pahalgam are of the Kushan age. Before we come to the great Karkota architecture it will be essential to consider two temples, namely, Jyeshtha Rudresa of Srinagar (Sankaracharya temple) and Rudresvara of modern Lador, six kilometers in east south direction of Pampore. A. Cunningham dates Sankaracharya 300 B.C., keeping in view the different layers of its architecture. The latest layer is of the Mughal period with the inscription in Persian. It is said, and Kalhana confirms it, that king Sandhuman had a long devotion below its foothill ; therefore, the hill was named Sandhiman hill which the Muslims believed was articulated form of Suleman. The architecture of Lador and Sankaracharya are similar with slight changes. Karkota architecture is obviously very grand and unique in Northern India, and Martandev, Parihasapura and Narannag are all its grand achievements. Narannag in the north of Kashmir is the same shrine which Kalhana refers as Nandikshetra near the foothill of Bhulashanar, modern Buther. The creativity of the Kashmiris found expression during the Karkota period and the most impressive of all monuments in Kashmir, the Martanda temple, was very probably erected during the reign of Lalitaditya, the greatest king of this line. The reign of Sankaravarma of the Utpala dynasty, despite military activities, succeeded in making a mark in the field of art and architecture. Likewise, the reign of his successor Avantivarman is also important in respect of art and architecture as testified by the Avantiswami temple of Avantipura.

Jammu and Ladakhi architecture is a later development and mostly they are of the early medieval period. Though nothing significant has been discovered so far, probably in near future some vestiges may be found. In brief, it can be said that Kashmir has a unique position in the whole of India, vis-a-vis its achievements in the field of ancient literature. And if all the sources literary and archaeological, are properly explored many corners, so far obscure, are likely to be illuminated and would thereby make the history of the State more intelligible than it is now.

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SHARADA INSCRIPTIONS IN KASHMIR A SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDY

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IN THE second half of the eighth century A.D., we find in the Brahmi alphabet of North Western India a distinct development of a new alphabet which, though agreeing in many respects with that used in the epigraphic and literary records of the sixth and the seventh centuries including the famous Gilgit Manuscripts, shows several essential differences in the forms of several characters. This alphabet is known as the Sharada alphabet. Though an alphabet of Kashmir par excellence, the Sharada has remained for several centuries a popular script of an extensive area of North Western India including Gandhara or the north western part of West Pakistan, Ladakh, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh, Panjab and Haryana. Nothing is known for certain with regard to the origin of the name of the alphabet, but this much is certain that it must have originated in Kashmir which from earliest times has been the principal seat of Sharada or the goddess of learning and has been named after her as Sharada-mandala or Sharada-Pitha.

The earliest known record in which the Sharada characters appear for the first time is a stone slab inscription discovered at the village Hund in the Attock district of West Pakistan. It is dated in Sam 168 which according to Shri D. R. Sahni refers to the Harsha era and corresponds to A.D. 774. On the basis of this inscription, the earliest use of the Sharada alphabet may be dated about c. 750 A.D. The alphabet continued to be used in Himachal Pradesh and Panjab up to the thirteenth century A.D. when it was replaced by its descendant, the Devashesha, which in turn gave rise to the modern alphabets of Gurmukhi

and Takari. In Kashmir, however, its use continues to this day though it is confined to the older generation of the priestly class.

Considering the extent of the region over which the Sharada alphabet remained in use for a long time, the number of Sharada epigraphic records discovered so far is by no means very large. In all 98 inscriptions have been discovered so far, 12 in North Western Pakistan, 35 in Kashmir, 6 in Jammu, 5 in Ladakh, 36 in Chamba, 2 in Kangra and 1 in Haryana.

On the basis of the Sharada characters used in these records, three successive stages of development of the Sharada alphabet can easily be discerned. The earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and the coins of eighth to tenth centuries, the second by those of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries and the third and the final by the epigraphic and the literary records of the fourteenth and the subsequent centuries.

While the use of the Sharada alphabet in the inscriptions dates from the latter half of the eighth century A.D. its use in the manuscripts, however, is not known until the twelfth century A.D., when we find it first used in a manuscript discovered from the village Bakhshali in Peshawar district of West Pakistan. The manuscript which contains an important work on Mathematics bears no date but on palaeographic grounds it can be assigned to the twelfth century A.D.

We may now make a brief mention of some important Sharada records of Kashmir and see what light they throw on the contemporary political and social conditions.

The two earliest Sharada epigraphic records discovered in Kashmir so far belong to the reign of Queen Didda. One of them is incised on the base of an image of the Bodhisatva Padmapani, preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, and the other is engraved on a stone slab discovered from a private house in Srinagar and now lying in the Lahore Museum. The former, which is dated in the year 65 in the reign of Queen Didda, records the consecration of a religious gift consisting of the image itself by the son of Rajanaka Bhima and the latter dated in the year 68 mentions a certain individual Dharmanka who gladdened his mother by charitable diggings (probably of wells, tanks, etc.)

and dedicated some charitable work, the nature of which is not traceable in the record, the text being lost at this place, to perpetuate her memory. The dates of the inscriptions probably refer to the Laūkika era and correspond respectively to A.D. 989 and A.D. 992. Both these dates fall well within the reign of Queen Didda and thus attest to the correctness of Kalhana's chronology.

The point of some historical importance in the two records is the mention of Queen Didda with the masculine epithets of deva and rajan. These epithets for the Queen sound rather queer but they would show how she was looked upon by the people of her times, more as a powerful king than as mere queen, apparently because of her energy, political acumen and essentially masculine traits of character which enabled her to rule over Kashmir with firmness for more than half a century in very troubled times.

The two inscriptions, further, present a glaring picture of the religious tolerance as practised in ancient Kashmir. While the one which contains an invocation of Lord Vishnu in the beginning attests to the flourishing state of Vaisnavism in the valley in the tenth century, the other furnishes evidence of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the valley about the same time. The predominant Brahmanic faith, however, appears to have exercised great influence on the contemporary Buddhist religion. An evidence to this effect is furnished by the image of the Bodhisatva Padmapani referred to above which represents the Bodhisatva as wearing a sacred thread in the fashion of the Brahmans.

Anantadeva—The Decchan Stone Inscription

Our next inscription in date belongs to the reign of Anantadeva. It is incised on a big hard-grained granite boulder which was discovered by R. C. Kak at Decchan near Kishtwar. It is dated in the year 12 in the reign of Sri Nantadeva. This king appears to be identical with the king Ananta who ruled Kashmir from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1063. The year 12, presumably of the Laukika era, corresponds to A.D. 1036 which well falls within the reign of the king. The inscription does not provide any details about the king except the bare mention of his name. The

find spot of the inscription would, however, show that Kishtwar lay within his empire. This seems all the more likely since Ananta's conquest of Chamba and Vallapura as recounted by Kalhana could not have been effected without the previous possession of Kishtwar which lay on the direct route to it.

This brief record is specially important as it furnishes evidence of the common man's active participation in the works of public utility even in the remote corners of ancient Kashmir. We learn that an individual named Mahimagupta constructed a bridge for the good of the people obviously at Decchan where the inscribed stone was found. The official who designed the bridge bore the designation Karmapati. The Karmapati is probably the same as Navakarmapati commonly met with in the inscriptions, and signifying an officer in charge of new constructions. In our case, he was probably an overseer or mistri to whom the execution of the construction of the bridge was entrusted.

Jayasinha—S.P.S. Inscriptions and the Arigom Stone Inscription

Our next inscription from Kashmir belongs to the reign of king Jayasinha. It is preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, and is dated in the year 25 which referred to the Laukika era and corresponds to A.D. 1149. The epigraph records the re-consecration of something not recorded in the inscription, but probably of some image or religious institution, by the son of a certain Bhattagovind.

Except the bare mention of the name of Jayasinha, the inscription does not furnish any information of historical importance about him. He, however, seems to be identical with the king Simha mentioned in our next important inscription, viz., the Arigom stone slab inscription of the (Laukika) year 73 corresponding to A.D. 1197 which contains an interesting information of the latter's having burnt a wooden shrine constructed by a certain Ramadeva to house an image of the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara near Gangesvara temple. The identification seems all the more plausible since the burning of Arigom (ancient Hadigrama) in Jayasimha's reign is also referred to by Kalhana who attributes the burning of the town to Jayasimha's

powerful minister Sujji. It would seem that the shrine was burnt along with the village itself.

For the history of religion in Kashmir, the Arigom inscription, now lying in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, is particularly important, as it furnishes evidence of the continued flourishing state of Buddhism in the valley even as late as the end of the twelfth century. From this inscription as also from that of the reign of Queen Didda discussed above and of the reign of Rajadeva to be discussed below, we learn that the Mahayana school of Buddhism, which first introduced the concept of Bodhisatva in the Buddhist faith, had great following in the valley in the tenth and the subsequent centuries and the worship of the Bodhisatvas was prevalent. This is particularly significant since Kashmir had remained for long a great stronghold of the Sarvastivadins and the Vaibhasikas.

Again, this well preserved epigraph from Arigom contains an interesting information about the nature of the building material used in the valley in the twelfth century. We learn that both wood and burnt bricks were used for architectural purposes, for, it is stated in the inscription that a certain Ramadeva constructed a shrine of burnt bricks in place of the wooden one which was burnt by king Simha, i.e., Jayasimha.

Paramandadeva—Tapar Stone Inscription

Our next inscription incised on a huge stone lintel discovered from Tapar, ancient Pratapapura, and now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, records the consecration of something not recorded in the inscription, but probably of an image of a temple of which the huge inscribed lintel formed a part, by a certain Gaga, son of Jagaraja, in the year 33, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Asadha in the reign of Paramandadeva.

The mention of Paramandadeva as the ruling prince is of interest as a king of this name does not figure in the known list of the Kashmir rulers. The identification of Paramandadeva, as such, presents some difficulty. Since the characters of this inscription agree with those of the Arigom stone slab inscription

of 1197 A.D. referred to above, we may assign the inscription to the twelfth century A.D. and refer the year 33 to the Laukika era, corresponding to A.D. 1157. According to Jonaraja, the king ruling at this time in Kashmir was Paramanuka, the son and successor of Jayasimha. It seems that Paramandadeva of our inscription is the same as Paramanuka of Jonaraja. Kalhana mentions Paramandi as a son of Jayasimha and it would seem that Paramandi, Paramandadeva and Paramanuka signify the same person.

Rajadeva—The Bijbehara Stone Inscription

A brief record belonging to the reign of king Rajadeva was discovered by John Marshall from the house of a Brahmin at Bijbehara during his tour of the valley in 1908-9. This epigraph merely mentions the name of Rajadeva as the ruling prince but does not tell anything of his reign. A brief account of his reign is, however, given by Jonaraja who describes him as the son and successor of Jagadeva and who ruled Kashmir from Laukika (42) 89 or A.D. 1213 to Laukika (43) 49 or A.D. 1236.

The inscription is dated in the year 58, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaisakha. The year 58, if, as usual, it referred to the Laukika era, corresponds to A.D. 1284 which, however, does not fall within the reign of Rajadeva. Marshall suggests that the date of the inscription should be referred to the Saka era which was also sometimes used in Kashmir. The date of the inscription would in this case correspond to Laukika (43) 12 Vaisakha S'5, Ti. 7 which precedes the date of Rajadeva's death, viz., Laukika (43) 12 Sra. Su Ti 11 as given by Jonaraja, by three months and four days.

This brief epigraph which is now lying in a private house in Srinagar records the consecration of Lokeshvara bhattacharaka-mandalakam by Acarya Kamalasriya. The exact meaning of Lokeshvara bhattacharaka-mandalakam is doubtful. According to Vogel it may be the Tantric designation of a particular magical circle. The inscription is incised on a well polished square slab with a round disc at the top. It seems that this round disc is the mandalaka of the inscription. The term bhattacharaka means a

lord and Lokeshvara is the alternative form of Avalokitesvara, the name of famous Bodhisatva. The entire expression would thus mean the mandalaka consecrated in honour of lord Avalokitesvara. It would seem that mandalaka was a cult object used for the worship of Bodhisatvas and that it was the practice among the Buddhists of Kashmir to consecrate the same with the aim of earning spiritual merit.

Shihab-Ud-Din—The Kotiher Inscription

Our next important but unfortunately badly damaged inscription was discovered from a well at Kotiher, ancient Kaptesvara, in the Anantnag district and is now lying in the Srinagar museum. It is incised on an oblong stone slab, the right hand lower corner of which is broken leading to the loss of a good portion of the inscription. The epigraph begins with an invocation of Lord Ganesa, the remover of all obstacles, and records the construction of some charitable work, probably a well from the wall of which the epigraph was discovered, by a certain lady named Jodha. By far the most important portion of the inscription is that which contains an eulogy of Shihab-ud-Din who was the ruling king when the inscription was put up. This eulogy though purely conventional is of importance as it contains some interesting facts about Shihab-ud-Din not known from the literary sources. The eulogy may briefly be summarised as follows :

“In the sacred country of Kashmir, a land of prosperity, rules the king of kings Sahabadena, a scion of the house of Pandavas, scorched by the blazing fire of whose unrivalled prowess, the enemies repaired to the far off lands, whose fame spotless as the lustre of the thousand moons filled the four quarters, by hearing the high pitched deafening twang of whose powerful bow, the enemies ran away disarrayed, by whom was conquered the land of Madras.....” The rest of the text is damaged and badly carved in incorrect Sanskrit and it is difficult to make any sense out of the preserved portion.

Leaving aside the conventional portion of the praise, we notice two points in this eulogy which are important from

historical points of view. First is the mention of Sahabadena or Shihab-ud-Din as a scion of Pandava house. This apparently sounds queer for a Muhammedan king could hardly claim descent from the Pandavas. Kedar Nath Shastri opines that the Sultan took pride in being styled as a scion of the Pandavas as he wanted to link himself with the ancient lunar race of India to justify his family's accession to the throne of Kashmir by supplanting the Hindu dynasty of the valley. However, it seems more likely that the epithet is due to the pious wish on the part of the eulogiser to connect the great contemporary ruler to an illustrious and celebrated Kshatriya family of the past simply because of his greatness and prowess and without any specific consideration of the faith to which the Sultan adhered. The second important point in the above cited eulogy is Shihab-ud-Din's victory over the Madras which is of great importance as the same is not mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles which otherwise give detailed account of the victories of the Sultan.

The Madras are an ancient Kshatriya tribe whose history dates back to the Vedic times. In the Vedic literature, they figure as a people who appear to have been divided into two sections, viz., the Southern Madras who lived in the Panjab and the Northern Madras who probably lived, as Zimmer conjectures, in the land of Kashmir, not distant from the Kambojas. In the Aitareya Brahmana, the Madras are mentioned as living beyond the Himalayas. In the Astadhyai, Madra-desa or the land of the Madras is mentioned as a janapada or a kingdom along with Kamboja, Gandhara, etc. In the *Mahabharata*, the Madras are mentioned as allies of the Kauravas and their king Shalya figures as the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Madras are mentioned in the form of Madrakas as an autonomous frontier tribe "giving all kinds of taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance".

From these and several other references it seems that the country of the Madras lay in the Panjab. Its capital was Shakala or modern Sialkot which stood on the bank of the Apaga stream, identified with modern Aik, a small stream which

has its rise in the Jammu hills and flows to the north east of Sialkot.

Shihab-ud-Din is credited with the conquest of a large number of countries and towns in the Kashmir chronicles and it would seem that Shihab-ud-Din while annexing Gandhara, western Panjab and some part of eastern Panjab including Susarmapura or Kot Kangra also traversed the central Panjab and conquered the Sialkot region or the Madra-desa as it was called then.

Zain-ul-Abidin—The Khonamuh Inscription

We next pass on to an inscription which is incised on a rectangular stone slab lying at the mouth of a stream at Bhuvaneshvari situated on a hillside $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles above the village of Khonamuh and visited on way to the pilgrimage to the famous tirtha of Harsheshvar or Harishvar. The record which has not been edited so far consists of ten lines written in verse with the exception of the date portion in the beginning which is in prose. It records the construction of a hermitage by a merchant named Purnaka at Khonamosa in the Kali year 4530 when Satisara was ruled by Jayanolabadena, son of Sakandara, and Chindaka was the district officer at Khonamosa. It further states that at Bhuvanesa situated half a yojana below the shrine of god Harsheshvara where flows a celestial stream, remover of all sins, there came from the castle of king Jayapida, an ascetic named Gammatisodaka to practise penance. Having conquered Mara of powerful darkness he engaged himself in meditation wishing to attain that state of imperishableness which knows no fall and at the proper time he found the way to Siva by means of that meditation. The last part of the inscription mentions two individuals, Katha and Kanathaka, who stood there as witnesses and names the writer of the inscription as Gaggaka.

It will be seen that the king Jayanolabadena mentioned as the ruling prince when the record was set up is undoubtedly the famous Kashmir ruler Zain-ul-Abidin who ruled from A.D. 1420 to 1470, who was the son of Sikandara, Sakandara of our inscrip-

tion, who was the king of Kashmir from A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1413. The Kali year 4530 corresponds to the year 1428 of the Christian era which would show that the hermitage was built in the eighth regnal year of Zain-ul-Abidin. The hermitage is no longer extant. There is an old mosque at Bhuvaneshvari but it cannot be said with certainty if this shrine represents the ancient hermitage.

The inscription is specially important as it contains some important place names like Satisara, Khanamosa and the castle of Jayapida. Satisara as is well known is the ancient name of Kashmir which according to a legend told at length in the *Nilamat-Purana* was originally a lake known as Satisara. Khonamosa is the Khonamusa of the *Rajatarangini* which is the ancient name of the modern village of Khonamah situated nine miles to the north east of Srinagar. Khonamuha is the famous birth place of Kashmiri poet Bilhana, author of *Vikramanka-devacharita*, who enthusiastically sings the charms of his home village in his celebrated work and describes it as situated in the vicinity of Jayavana, modern Zewan, and famous for its grape and saffron cultivation. The mention of the castle of king Jayapida is of interest as it is also mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* where a full legend is told in connection with its construction by the said king who was a grandson of the famous king Lalitaditya. The castle was popularly known in Kalhana's times as 'Abhyantara Kota' or the inner castle. Professor Buhler, during the course of his tour of the valley in 1875, traced the site of the castle near the village of Andar Koth situated on the Sumbal lake. It is also mentioned by Srivara at several places in his chronicle and his references together with our own would show that the place continued to be known in the fifteenth century by the name of Jayapidapura or Jayapida durga, the town or castle founded by Jayapida.

Another interesting feature of the record is the mention of the district officer along with the ruling king. The term deshadhpati mentioned in the record signifies the lord of desa which, like Vishaya, is a territorial unit usually met with in the copper-plate inscriptions, corresponding to modern district or tehsil.

Muhammad Shah—Hari Parbat Grave Stone Inscription

Our next well known inscription is engraved on a grave in the cemetery surrounding the Ziarat of Baha-ud-din at Hari-parbat. This inscription is widely known and has been referred to by Hultzsh and Kielhorn and is also described briefly by Marshall in his tour report. The inscription which is accompanied by the Persian inscription in Arabic character, of the same content, commemorates the death of a certain Said Khan, son of Aibrahm, who fell in the battle near Jistheudra mentioned as Takhta-gahisulaiman in the Persian inscription. The epigraph is dated in the year 60, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the month of Sravana in the reign of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shah is undoubtedly the Muslim king of this name who ruled over Kashmir at chequered intervals from 1484 to 1537 A.D. The date of the inscription corresponds according to the calculations of Kielhorn to Friday, 9th July, 1484 A.D.

There can be no doubt that the battle referred to in the inscription is the same battle which was fought at Srinagar between the Sayyids and the Kashmiri nobles in the time of the minor king Muhammad Shah. The date of the inscription coincides with the date of the termination of the battle as given by Shrivara.

Saida Khan mentioned in the inscription seems to be identical with Said Khan described by Shrivara as one of the great soldiers who fought on the side of the Sayyids. Unfortunately, Shrivara gives no details about Saida Khan and the identification of his father Aibrahm is as such difficult. In the Persian inscription accompanying our epigraph, the name given is Ibrahim Shah. Marshall suggests that he may be identified with Ibrahim Shah Sharqui, king of Jaunpur from A.D. 1401 to 1440, who along with his son Said Khan seems to have fled to Kashmir on the annexation of Jaunpur by Bahlol Lodhi in 1474 A.D.

The two epigraphs furnish interesting evidence of the contemporary use of the Sharada and the Arabic scripts in the valley during the Muhammadan period.

The Zaji Nai Inscription

Our next interesting inscription is the Zaji Nai Inscription which was found by R. C. Kak at the southern extremity of a mountain glen called Zaji Nai near Wadwan. It is incised on a small lime stone block now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar. Owing to the stone being broken into fragments and some fragments being lost, the exact purport of the inscription is difficult to ascertain. From the mention of such phrases as *asvapadam pratisthapitam*, *asvagaraksa* and from the occurrence of the figure of a horse at the bottom of the stone block, it may be presumed that the inscription records the erection of a stable for the protection of horses and cows or cattle in general. This inscription, like the one discovered at Dacchan and referred to above, furnished another instance of the ancient Kashmiris' active interest in works of public utility. As is well known, the cattle were then as at present sent to the pastures at high mountain peaks for grazing in summer. They were exposed to the danger of being eaten up by the wild animals. As such the erection of a stable was a dire need which was fulfilled by a layman of this remote region, whose name is unfortunately not preserved in the epigraph.

Before winding up this note, it may be worthwhile to mention the sites of other inscriptions which have been discovered in the valley so far but which being fragmentary and sketchy in nature have not been included in the present study. These sites are : Lodu, Avantipura, Bijbehara, Wularhama, Martand, Digom or Kapal Mochan, Lasityal, Para-pura, Sogam, Ushkur and Kotisar. The inscription found at Uskur near Baramula by Father De Ruyter, the then headmaster of the Church Mission School at Baramula, is now lying in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A. It is engraved on the upper left hand portion of a relief which bears the equestrian portrait of a warrior on horseback. Written in badly carved Sharada characters, I have not yet been able to decipher fully the inscription.

It is also worthy of note that though Kalhana explicitly states in his *Rajatarangini* that he studied all types of inscriptions

recording grants of things, chiefly of land, for writing his chronicle, no copper plate inscription recording the grant of land has come to light so far. The absolute absence of the copper plate grants in the valley cannot but be severely felt by any student of Kashmir history and culture. However, it is hoped that with the conscious efforts of the authorities concerned and of the future scholars, many more inscriptions, particularly copper plate inscriptions, will come to light and many new facts about the past history of our beautiful valley will become known.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR (TENTH-TWELFTH CENTURY)

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THE INDIANS, before the advent of the Muslims into India, did not maintain historical records almost as a rule. There was no system of maintaining archives and repositories. This scarcity in historical literature is aptly expressed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar : "We have to admit that the literary genius of India, so active and fertile in almost all conceivable branches of study, was not applied to chronicling the records of kings and fall of states and nations".¹ Again, "It is a well-known fact that with the single exception of *Rajatarangini* (History of Kashmir), there is no historical text in Sanskrit dealing with the whole or even parts of India".² But it should never mean that the sources for the study of the history and culture of Kashmir are very few and far between, though it is very unfortunate that scholars do not take the trouble of going beyond *Rajatarangini*.

The Greek, Chinese and indigenous records and accounts form a very important source of information for the period preceding tenth century A.D. For the period between tenth century to twelfth century, the sources may be divided into two broad categories : Muslim chronicles or Arabic literature and Kashmir chronicles.

Muslim Chronicles

Among the Muslim sources Al-Beruni's India is a mine of information. It is trustworthy and most reliable on topography, routes, sacred places and customs and manners of the people. Stein is all praise for Al-Beruni's critical acumen and laborious

research and says that "he could look through the mountains".³ Al-Beruni utilized his long stay at Ghazna and in the Punjab (1017-30 A.D.) to collect information on Kashmir. In the first chapter of his book, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, he writes that Mahmud of Ghazna "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country (of India), and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions".⁴ That was the reason, according to Al-Beruni, that Hindu sciences fled to places like Kashmir and Benares.⁵ He refers to Kashmir as the high school of Hindu learning and repeatedly mentions Kashmiri authors. It appears that among his informants, if not among his actual teachers, there were Kashmiri scholars.⁶ He makes a particular mention of his Kashmiri informants with whom he conversed regarding the miracles of Kudaishahr, i.e., the Kaptasvara Tirtha. The way in which pilgrimage to this place was described to Al-Beruni makes it quite certain that the narrators had personal experience of the Tirtha. The same holds good about his note on the pilgrimage to the temple of Sarada.⁷ The details regarding a local Kashmiri festival and the anecdote about the propagation of the Sisyahitavritti in Kashmir could not have reached him but by verbal communications.⁸ Al-Beruni also refers to Kashmiri almanac, which, in the opinion of Stein, could only be secured through Kashmiri Pandits.⁹

Abu Raihan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Beruni composed certain Sanskrit treatises and circulated them among the people of Kashmir. This speaks of special relations which he had with Kashmir. He graphically narrates the rigid isolation of the Valley. Such a statement could only be possible when he had direct contacts with the people of the Valley.¹⁰ There is much strength in Sir Mark Aurel Stein's opinion that Al-Beruni accompanied Mahmud of Ghazna in his unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir, which probably took place in 1021 A.D. It afforded him ample opportunities to acquaint himself with the topography of the region with local assistance.¹¹

Al-Beruni's account of Kashmir is mainly contained in Chapter XVIII, which gives "various notes on the countries of the Hindus, their rivers and ocean".¹² Fortunately, it is more

detailed with regard to Kashmir.

Al-Beruni gives in broad outlines the political division of the mountain region which lies between the great Central Asian watershed and the Punjab plain. He refers to the pedestrian habits of the people and the use of Palkis by the nobles. The description is very precise and is corroborated by Kalhana. He further observes : "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong-hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people".¹³

Al-Beruni gives a vivid picture of the Kashmir Valley. The capital is correctly described as "being built along both banks of the river Jhelam, which are connected with each other by bridges and ferry-boats". The climate of Kashmir, as described by Al-Beruni, is far more exact than any other account available to us previous to the second quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

Al-Beruni's account is not only scientific but the only detailed account available in regard to Kashmir for the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. His historical perspective, penetrating insight and deep understanding could not be over-estimated. "He does not blindly accept", says Professor Sachau, "the traditions of former ages ; he wants to understand and criticise them. He wants to sift the wheat from the chaff, and he will discard everything that militates against the laws of nature and of reason".¹⁵

Muru' Fu-L Zahab of Al-Masudi is another Arabic work on India with a passing reference about Kashmir. He was a great traveller and an acute observer. He deservedly continues to be one of the most admired writers in Arabic. His book, which was translated into English by Dr. Sprenger with the name *Meadows of Gold*,¹⁶ gives only that Kashmir is a kingdom with many towns and villages enclosed by very high and inaccessible mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a

gate. The number of towns and villages is estimated at from sixty to seventy thousand.¹⁷ This scanty detail by this well-travelled observer is due to habitual and physical seclusion of the people and the country in those days. He died in Egypt in 345 A.H. (956 A.D.).

Muzhatu-L Mushtak of Al-Idrisi gives a brief reference about Kashmir. He was born at Centa, in Morocco, towards the close of the eleventh century.¹⁸

Kashmir Chronicles

The Kashmiri Saiva philosopher, literary critic and intellectual giant, Abhinavagupta, was born between 950 and 960 A.D. in a Brahmin family, which had migrated from Kanauj to Kashmir during the reign of King Lalitaditya. He was a prolific writer whose works cover a wide range of subjects—Dramaturgy, Rhetoric, Philosophy and the Philosophy of Poetry. His main contribution is to Saiva philosophy and his expositions are simply superb.

Kshemaraja, who flourished in the reign of Samgramaraja (1003-1028 A.D.), wrote many treatises, such as *Shiva-Sutra-Vritti*, *Spandasandoha* and many commentaries on Tantras. *Shiva-Sutra-Vritti* is important with regard to Saivism in Kashmir.

Kshemendra, rightly regarded as the doyen among the Sanskrit poets of Kashmir and among the Kashmiri chroniclers, is the most useful authority. He was born on the Dal in the locality where the Nishat Bagh now stands in the days of Ananta. Kshemendra's father, Prakashachandra, was a rich man but very learned and of generous temperament. The exact date of Kshemendra's birth is unknown but his literary career runs from 1037 to 1066 A.D. Kshemendra studied at the feet of several teachers but notable among them is Gangaka. His studies covered Hindu Law, Sanskrit grammar, politics, medicine, music and painting. He is said to be the author of many books, of which thirty-four are believed to be available.

Kalhana has criticised his *Nripavali* for many errors and accuses him of "consistent carelessness".¹⁹ Keith in his *History*

of *Sanskrit Literature*, has discussed Kshemendra's *Brihatkathamanjari* and other works at some length.

In *Samayamatrika*, one of Kshemendra's best poems, an attempt has been made to describe the snares of courtesans. It is a collection of stories, in which there is an interesting account of the wanderings of his heroine Kankali through the length and breadth of the Valley. Numerous places of her wandering are traceable on the map. These places have been described with local variations and colour, which make the rendering extremely interesting. In this poem we, for the first time, find mention of the Pir Panjal Pass (Pancaladhara) and its hospice (matha). We also get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade routes. It also mentions a Buddhist convent, the Krityasrama Vihar, where Kankali's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal.

Stein remarks "His works, composed in the second and third quarter of the eleventh century, form important landmarks in several fields of Indian literature. Kshemendra seems to have had a genuine interest, rare enough among Indian scholars, for the realities of his country and the life around him".²⁰

Mankha, the fourth son of Veshovrata and grandson of Pandit Mammata, was a great poet of independent mind. Ruyyaka, the celebrated author of *Alankarasarvasva*, was the teacher of Mankha. Mankha rose to the post of the Director of Dharmarth and also became the Foreign Minister. Raja Sussala looked upon him as a great philosopher. Mankha was the contemporary of Kalhana. He wrote his first book *Shrikanthacharita* at the age of twenty-five, probably in 1039 A.D. The book, though brief, is similar in character to Bilhana's *Vikraman-kadevacharita* in its description of Kashmir and Pravarapura. Jonaraja has written a commentary on this book which is very useful in explaining the points of local interest.

Bilhana, the poet, was senior to Kalhana in age. He was born in Khunamush or Khonamusa, six miles from Srinagar. His father, Jyeshtha Kalasha, was a learned Brahmin and a specialist in Sanskrit grammar.²¹ Finding no scope for his talents, he bade good bye to his native land at the tender age of sixteen in the reign of King Kalasha (1063-1089 A.D.).²² He

visited important places in Northern India and travelled to the Deccan. He became famous as the court-poet of the Chalukya King Tribhuvanmalla Parmardi of the South. Bilhana is the author of *Vikramankadevacharita*, *Karna-Sundari Mala* and *Chaurapanchasika*.

In the last Canto of his historical poem, the *Vikramankadevacharita*, Bilhana vividly describes the beauties of the Kashmir Valley and its capital. The main importance of the poem consists in the exactitude of the topography. Professor Buhler, during his tour of Kashmir in 1875, had the satisfaction of visiting the poet's birth place, the present village of Khunamoh, and verifying on the spot every point of the description which Bilhana gives of that "coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himalaya".²³ As a poet his style and language is very lucid and enchanting.

The *Lokaprakasha* is a very useful dictionary (kosh) compiled through the efforts of many scholars including Kshemendra. It is particularly useful for the study of the social life and administrative structure. In Book II the name of Shahjahan finds mention, which suggests that some portion of the work was compiled as late as the seventeenth century A.D. The work represents a strange mixture of the usual dictionary and a practical handbook dealing with the various topics of administration and private life in Kashmir.²⁴ Stein praises its secular character and is grateful for the topographical details which it gives.²⁵

The *Lokaprakasha* consists of four parts. The first part deals with the four principal castes and sixty sub-castes. It also gives the titles of the ministers and officers of the state. The second part, which seems to have been written during the Muslim period in Kashmir and up to the seventeenth century A.D., gives details about bills of exchange, bonds, commercial contracts, official orders and so forth. This part is the biggest and most important of all. The third part supplies us with a list of synonyms of different varieties of fish, birds and mice, and of salt, gold ornaments and gold coins. The fourth part begins with a satire on the Kayasthas (i.e., writers and physicians) and on Brahmins who had become Muslims. It also gives a list of

the districts of Kashmir.

The *Lokaprakasha* supplies the earliest list of Kashmir Parganas. The Pargana list contains local names of ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. The only drawback of the work is that it is difficult to know exactly when the different sections were compiled.

Mammata and Other Poets of the Period

The beginning of the twelfth century A.D. saw three celebrated scholars decorating the literary firmament of Kashmir. They are Mammata and his two brothers. Mammata was the second son of the scholar Jaiyata Bhatta, the eldest was Jaiyata and Uvyata was the youngest. All the three brothers were noted litterateurs, but Mammata was the most distinguished of them all. His book *Kavya-Prakasha*, on prosody is very valuable and is prescribed for higher examinations in Sanskrit language. Eighty-seven commentaries are known to have been written on the *Kavya-Prakasha* of which twenty-five are available. Mammata is said to be the maternal uncle of Harsha, the great poet-king of Kanauj. The *Shabda-Vyapar-Vichara* is another well-known work of Mammata on grammar in which the usage of words has been discussed.

The period under review has the rare distinction of having Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, "The River of Kings"—the most important source of the history of Kashmir. But the whole ancestry and the life of the author is hidden in oblivion. Kalhana shares the common fate of the Indian authors of note whose memory lives solely in their works. The introductory note attached to the end of each book of the *Rajatarangini*, gives the name of the author as 'Kalhana', the son of the great Kashmiri minister, "the illustrious Lord Canipaka". Historical deductions reveal that he was a Brahmin by caste. The Sanskrit style of *Rajatarangini* is similar to that of the accepted style of the Pandits of Brahmin descent. The introduction to each book of his chronicle is begun by prayers to Shiva in his form of Ardhanarishwar representing the God in union with Parvati. Besides, Jonaraja, the continuator author of *Rajatarangini*, has

referred to Kalhana with the epithet "dvija". A study of his chronicle displays his friendly attitude towards Buddhism. His faith may be epitomised in one word "eclecticism".

The name Kalhana was derived through the Prakrit "Kalhan" from the Sanskrit word "Kalyana", meaning "blessed".

Kalhana wrote his work during the years 1148-1149. The style and the spirit of the work show that the author must have attained a mature age. The elaborate description of the unsteady conditions of Sussal's reign (A.D. 1112-20) makes it clear that he must have been of age at that time. Hence, his probable date of birth might have been the beginning of the twelfth century.

The century of the birth of Kalhana was marked, in the history of Kashmir, by a dynastic upheaval resulting in many important political changes. King Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101) seemed at first to give Kashmir a period of good government but he fell victim to his own lavishness and extravagance. After his murder, Kashmir, for seven years more, witnessed civil wars which brought death and destruction in their train.

Kalhana was gifted with a scientific approach and a critical temperament. His portrayal of the various classes of Kashmiri people is very graphic and true to life. The reaction of the common folk to the disturbed political conditions of the time is full of realistic touches. He says that the people were "callously prepared to welcome any change". His description of the idle and indifferent city crowds and their feelings shows that he thoroughly understood the nature of his countrymen.

The unsettled political conditions of the time negated all chances of patronage to the creative works of art; hence *Rajatarangini* was not written under the patronage of any king. Kalhana had a high sense of his responsibilities. He considers only historians "worthy of praise, whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past"—"and surpasses even the stream of nectar, . . . and can place the past times before the eyes of men".

It is interesting to note that Kalhana prepared himself for the role of a poet. The Sanskrit classical poetry cultivated by Kalhana reveals that he had an intensive training in the Indian

rhetoric, the *Alankarshastra*, and had equal mastery of Sanskrit grammatical lore. His literary studies were deep and comprehensive. All the known literature of his time, beginning from Epics to Kalidas's work *Raghuvansha* and *Meghaduta* and Bilhana's *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Harshacharita*, were read by him. Stein says : "His literary training, indeed, had been of the strictly traditional type and the manner in which he employed it shows no conscious departure from the conventional norm. Yet it is clear that Kalhana was not a man of schools, absorbed in his *Shastras*."

Kalhana scrupulously studied the original sources including inscriptions of various kinds before he started writing, the *Rajatarangini*. He also studied coins and inspected buildings.

Kalhana found all possible avenues to his hereditary career closed on account of the unsettled political conditions of the country. So the best way to employ his talents, he thought, was to write down the history of his country from the ancient down to his own time. He was also inspired by regional patriotism. By painting a glorious picture of the past he wished that his countrymen should shed the inferiority complex, feel proud and try to emulate their past traditions. Therefore, the Great Asoka, he shows, was the kind of the King whose examples were to be followed. It is Kalhana's sheer patriotism when he says : "Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by the force of soldiers."

Kalhana has honestly and impartially related the events. While recording the contemporary happenings Kalhana has presented the principal figures in their individual characters and not as types. Here he represents a contrast to Bana and Bilhana in treating historical personages, who have painted their heroes all white and enemies all black.

The *Rajatarangini* is a class by itself in Indian literature. It is very much different from *Charitas*, which were composed under royal patronage. The scholar-poets of *Charitas* had the rare gift of inventing fables and myths and applying their talent in glorifying the achievements of their patrons. Their works are masterpieces of literature dabbling in subtle poetic art, rhetorical embellishment and *alamkarshastra*. The *Rajatarangini*,

on the other hand, is the work of a detached and impartial mind, viewing the past and present with historical acumen and not in a spirit of hero worship or pleasing the patron. The *Rajatarangini* not only forms a class by itself in Sanskrit compositions but has a striking resemblance in character to the chronicles of medieval Europe and of the Islamic East.

While writing the first three books (chapters) of the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana made full use of tradition whether written or oral, and the chronicles which were evidently based on such traditions. In writing down these traditions, at times, the critic in Kalhana comes out. For instance, he mentions three traditions of the death of King Lalitaditya, without stating what is true, and comments : "When the great meet their end there arise stories indicative of their uncommon grandeur". King Meghavahan's exploits have been described in such a fanciful manner that Kalhana himself is apprehensive that they might not be accepted as true but he tries to justify them by comparing them with the cruelties of Harsha, which, in their time might not be believed, but for them were eyewitness accounts.

For the last two chapters of his book the main sources were his contemporaries, his father, fellow-countrymen and his own memory. Thus many incidents of the treachery of Bhiksacara's troops, he categorically writes, were witnessed by him. It is no surprise that much of the history of the previous two generations, he got from his father and father's friends, who held key-posts in the politics of their times.

To give the details, *Rajatarangini* consists of eight books (chapters) of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text may roughly be divided into three sections :

1. Books I-III, are based on traditions.
2. In Books IV-VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties he has made use of the works of earlier chroniclers who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described.
3. For Books VII-VIII, dealing with the two Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and

eyewitness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The style of the *Rajatarangini* is not crude or difficult. These are scattered verses adorned in flowery language, or donned in fanciful imagery, of country Sanskrit. Kalhana's idea was that even a historical text must be a work of art and he tried to make his work attractive to readers. His accounts are graphic and vivid except in his last two books, where so many characters are introduced without proper introduction. Kalhana who had maintained strict adherence to chronology from the beginning of the book had in the second and third sections not followed it to the letter. Evidently he was writing his book for those, who were familiar with the events of the period.

Kalhana in writing the *Rajatarangini* sets a tradition for history writing. His book, after him, was continued by four successive historians from the point where he left, to some years after Kashmir's annexation by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar.

The mission of a historian, according to Kalhana, is to make vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age. History has a unique gift of immortalizing personages and events, and in this it even surpasses the mythical ambrosia, 'while the latter immortalizes only the man who drinks it, the former all those whom it touches'. Kalhana was aware that his work would not only achieve permanence, but would enliven all the actors as well as himself. He had another object also in view. He says : "This saga, which is properly made up, should be useful for Kings as a stimulant or a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place." Kalhana expected that both good and bad kings would derive profit from his work. He was a staunch advocate of historical impartiality.

Kalhana's assessment of more recent happenings is fair. He paints no character wholly black or white. He had deep insight into man's nature and his psychology. He says : "As in heaven the little clouds change shape, and take on the form of elephants, leopards, monsters, serpents, horses and other beasts—

so do the waves of feeling change in the hearts of mortals, from kindness to harshness as the moments vary."

The didactic feature of *Rajatarangini* may be traced to the selection of Sautā rasa in a sentiment of resignation. Here Kalhana's avowed motive is to show that material property and royal possessions are objects of transitory glory. The evil acts of man recoil on him by the strange hands of destiny. In the same way, acts of policy, statecraft and individual conduct are again and again praised and analysed in the light of Dharma or Nitishastra.

The *Rajatarangini* appears to wage a war in favour of benevolent despotism and deprecates feudalism. Believing in orthodox Rajniti (Statecraft), Kalhana had his own conception of good government. Explicitly or implicitly the *Rajatarangini* carries the idea that a strong king is the ideal king, who has firm control over unruly elements, but is benevolent towards his people and sympathetic to their wishes. He chooses his ministers with discretion, and listens to their counsel with respect. Kalhana has shown his unflinching disapproval of the Damars, the petty feudal chiefs, who were the cause of anarchy and confusion in Kashmir since the death of Harsha. Another motive, perhaps, in writing the *Rajatarangini* was that of inspiring the kings of Kashmir with their ancient glory and prowess, and to curb the unruly elements, who aimed at making the king weak. He says: "The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys its mother, but the ungrateful Kayasthas, when they become powerful, destroy everything." At times Kalhana becomes pessimistic. The words put in the mouth of Harsha symbolises it: "This land, after having been a virtuous woman, has fallen like a prostitute into the arms of the insolent. Henceforth, whoever knows how to succeed by mere intrigue will aspire to that kingdom, whose power has gone." Here the historian shows his prophetic vision. He is no more simply a poet or a scholar.

The *Rajatarangini* is a saga showing the force of Karma. Whatever good or bad a man does in this life, Kalhana believes, he reaps the harvest for that in the life to come. Often the

force of Karma shapes events and provides the basic moral sanction.

Fate, according to Kalhana, is the second force influencing the human destiny. Fate is sometimes used as a synonym for God. God or the Gods often influence human affairs. Sometimes adverse fate is overcome by those who trust in their arms. Here also the *Rajatarangini* gives another hopeful message to his countrymen that whatever fate or the Creator might have in store for them, only a strong king confident of his powers could save Kashmir.

The *Rajatarangini* interlinks the Karma of the kings with that of their subjects. Good kings arise through the merits of their subjects. A king and his subjects could mould the orders of nature.

This great work has also some shortcomings. The sources used by Kalhana were not critically analysed and discussed. His narrative becomes more legendary and anecdotal in the middle of the ninth century, when one seems to reach contemporary records. "Of the defects of the records and the conflicting opinions which according to Kalhana's introduction rendered his task difficult, we nowhere receive a distinct indication." Fabulous stories, manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitious beliefs have been described as historical truths, which betray his credulity. He has not separated historical legends from history. Similarly, Kalhana's chronology is also not based on scientific data. Of course, one cannot expect critical judgement in matters of chronology from an author who had started dating history from a legendary date of the coronation of Yudhisthira from the epics, and attributes three hundred years to a single ruler, Ranaditya. Kalhana could not and should not be blamed for this, as it was a general trend among Indians, so precisely described by Al-beruni. "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating to chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information, and are at a loss, not knowing what to say they invariably take to tale-telling."

The *Rajatarangini* also presents a contrast within itself—

its earlier part is more of a fiction, and the later part, that is early medieval part, is real history. It vividly described the falling glory of Kashmir,—palace intrigues, murders, seditions, civil wars and treachery. The life of the ordinary common folk has not been touched. It is the history of kings, royal families and nobility, justifying the title "River of the Kings"

Kalhana's work was continued by Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajabatta and Suka. The *Rajatarangini* has made Kalhana immortal but Kalhana himself was sure about the worth of his work.

Even the gods must die ;
But sovereign poetry remains,
Stronger than death.

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Medieval Period

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL KASHMIR

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It is an established fact that Kashmir is the only part of India where the tradition of writing history existed even before the advent of Islam. This must have been due to Kashmir's historical links with a number of non-Indian cultures, such as the Greek, the Chinese, and definitely the Central Asian, all of which had strong historical traditions. Buddhism, which flourished in Kashmir for a very long period, with its sense of history,¹ influenced the Kashmiri mind. With the establishment of the Sultanate in Kashmir in 1320, many learned men from Persia and Turkistan began to pour into the Valley. They brought with them the Persian² and Central Asian traditions of historiography. Thus a good number of chronicles were written during the medieval period in Kashmir. But, unfortunately, some of them did not survive, as for example, the works of Mulla Ahmed and Mulla Nadri, Qazi Ibrahim and Mulla Hasan Qari. However, other medieval writers like the anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Haidar Malik, Hasan bin Ali and Muhammad Azam Diddarmari made an extensive use of the works which are no longer extant.

For a proper understanding of the sources of medieval Kashmir, it is necessary to divide them into the following headings :

- I Sanskrit sources
- II Persian chronicles written by Kashmiris
- III Chronicles of non-Kashmiris
- IV Biographies of Saints

V European Accounts

VI Kashmiri Literature and Folklore

I SANSKRIT SOURCES

The *Rajatarangini* of Pandit Kalhana, written in the pre-Muslim period in Kashmir, is a long narrative of occurrences taking place in the Valley from the earliest times to 1149-50 A.D. Written in verse, it is based on traditions, legends and inscriptions.

Kalhana seems to have been conscious of the duties of a historian, for not only did he narrate the events of the past but also analysed the past in a manner so as to enable his readers to think on the nature and impermanence of life. He emphasizes the role of religion (*dharma*), actions (*Karma*) and fate in history. Among the various causes given by the chronicler for the downfall of King Harsha (1089-1101), fate seems to have played an important role.³ The historical events have also been explained in terms of 'Divine Retribution' and 'Divine Pleasure'. The use of witchcraft, especially as a means of vendetta, has not been ignored amongst many possible historical explanations of events.

It is, however, important to remember that although in the earlier books, Kalhana overestimates the role of supernatural forces in history, in the seventh and eighth books, the author proves himself to be a serious student of history. No doubt, in the later works Kalhana does not totally ignore supernatural causes in the shape of events, "but owing to other casual explanations they tend to recede somewhat into the background". Since he was writing the history of his own times, this explains why Kalhana recognizes the multiplicity of causes that go into the making of a historical situation. Thus, for example, he does not deprecate the role of the *Damaras* (feudal landowners) and the Brahmans in the politics of Kashmir in the early medieval period. The emergence of *Damaras* and their relationship with the King has been described in a proper perspective. Though he does not approve of revolts by Tantrins and Ekangas, the *Damaras* and the royal princes owing to their fissiparous trends, he acquiesces in

the revolt of the Brahmans⁵ when they kept a fast on the plea that the fast is always in a righteous cause, namely, the removal of an oppressive king or minister.

Nor has Kalhana omitted to mention the failure of kings due to human weaknesses. For example, Harsha's downfall has been attributed to his avoidance of battles, lack of independent judgement, wrong selection of persons as ministers, and above all, heeding the advice of some intriguing woman.⁶

It is significant to note that Kalhana was conscious of the relationship of the various political power groups of his time with their economic conditions. Thus he repeatedly admonishes the kings not to allow any village to stock food if it exceeds a year's consumption. Nor should a village be allowed to keep oxen beyond the number required to cultivate the fields. Why? Kalhana ascribed the emergence of the feudatories and their revolts to the "accumulation of wealth".⁷ Among various other factors matrimonial alliances among the official class are also described as a source of trouble for a king.

The Sanskrit writers after Kalhana did not adopt the latter's technique. Jonaraja, two hundred years after Kalhana, wrote *Rajatarangini*. This is a continuation of Kalhana's work from 1150 to 1459, and is very useful in helping us to understand the social and political conditions prevailing in Kashmir before the establishment of the Sultanate.⁸ One of the causes to which Jonaraja has referred to for the decline of Hindu rule in Kashmir was the continuous rebellions of the Lavanyas and *Damaras*.⁹ Added to this was the policy of Suhadeva (1301-20) towards the Brahmans whom he alienated by imposing tax on them. While writing about the unpopularity of the king the chronicler says, "the Raksas of a king who, under the plea of protecting the country, devoured it for nineteen years and twenty-five days."¹⁰

Jonaraja wrote his book at the command of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin^{10a} (1420-70) who, the author says, was eager to see that the long gap in the history of Kashmir be filled. About his own work Jonaraja writes that it is "only an outline of the history of kings."¹¹ True that he has briefly discussed the history of the earlier part of the Sultanate, but the period from 1389 to

1459, during which the author was an eye-witness to many of the important happenings in Kashmir, has been treated in some detailed manner. While he does not fail to notice the influence of a powerful religious movement launched by Mir Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani,¹² on Sikandar (1389-1413),¹³ at the same time, he does not gloss over the fact that there took place a gradual change in the policy of the Sultan towards the Hindus.¹⁴ He says that the Sultan "fixed with some difficulty a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavanas"¹⁵ and abolished *Jizya* (*turuskadanda*).¹⁶

Jonaraja was not oblivious of the great change that was brought about in Kashmir as a result of the establishment of the Sultanate. He remarks: "As the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmira."¹⁷ No doubt, the approach of this medieval chronicler was coloured by religion, but this was inevitable as he wrote within the framework of a society dominated by religion. Nevertheless, we should not exaggerate the religious element, for, the chronicler's extollment of the virtues of Zain-ul-Abidin shows the working of human agency and material factors in him. His patron performed "what was beyond the power of the past sovereigns and what will be beyond the ability of future kings."¹⁸

There are some useful references in the *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja in regard to the social life prevailing in Kashmir in Bud Shah's time. His references regarding Sudra women,¹⁹ the Dombas,²⁰ the Rajasthaniyas,²¹ the Damaras,²² the Qazis,²³ the Thakurs,²⁴ etc., are helpful in reconstructing the social history of medieval Kashmir. Wine drinking seems to have been practised in Jonaraja's time even by some Sayyids who under the spell of intoxication killed people.²⁵

Though Jonaraja has not mentioned his sources, his chronology and topography is on the whole trustworthy. One glaring defect of the work is that its author has given a very brief summary of some important events, e.g., the Mongol invasions of Khajlak and Dulaca. Many other Mongol invasions have totally been ignored.²⁶ It is strange that while Jonaraja discusses the spread of Islam in Kashmir he does not say anything

about Mir Sayyid Ali. He is also silent about Lalla Deb and Shaikh Nuruddin Wali,^{26a} the two prominent mystics of medieval Kashmir who left a profound impression on Kashmir's composite culture.

Jonaraja's views on history "end with the conclusion that his chronicle is a tree planted to remove the afflictions of kings born of pride and langour."²⁷ Thus he treats history as a guide for the kings. Though Jonaraja is essentially a chronicler, sometimes he does interpret facts. For instance, the role of fate²⁸ and supernatural forces²⁹ is emphasized so as to explain the course of events. Even "incantations and magic herbs are brought to explain the adventurous spirit of Malacandra."³⁰ The Hindu notions of virtue (*punya*) and sin (*papa*) and the evil influence of the Kali age, have been introduced to account for the course of history.³¹

Srivara, a pupil of Jonaraja, continued the account of the Sultans of Kashmir and called it *Jaina-Rajatarangini*. Being a courtier and a trusted friend of Zain-ul-Abidin,³² he gives a detailed account of the remaining years of the Sultan's reign from 1459 to 1470. He enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Haidar Shah (1470-72) and Hasan Shah (1472-84). Besides writing about his two patrons, he continued the history of the Sultans from 1472 to 1486. Srivara was a scholar, a poet and a musician as well.

Srivara is a hero-worshipper rather than a historian. He himself says that he wrote his work partly "to free myself from my endless obligations to him (Zain-ul-Abidin), and partly because I am attracted by his merits." Thus he extols his patron Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin to the skies. Added to this is the fact that he "is a slavish imitator of Kalhana, not above reproducing whole verses from his predecessor. His text looks, in great portion, more like a canto from the *Rajatarangini* than an original composition."³⁴ But in spite of these failings, Srivara's work is important because it throws much light on the religious-political trends of his time. His account of the role of the Baihaqi Sayyids³⁵ is useful, though not without faults. The *Jaina-Rajatarangini* reveals the penetration of the Persian and

Central Asian influences in Kashmir in the Sultanate period. We hear of some Hindus partaking of beef³⁶ as a result of their contact with the Muslim immigrants from Persia and Central Asia. Though a chronicler, Srivara tries to give causes responsible for the downfall of the Hindus in Kashmir. He looks with abhorrence at the cultural changes that began to take place in Kashmir with the rise of Muslim power and attributes the misfortune of Kashmiris to their tacit acquiescence in these changes.³⁷

Srivara's chronicle was continued by Prajyabhatta. He composed *Rajavalipataka* describing the history of the Sultans from 1486 to 1512. Being defective in topography and chronology, Prajyabhatta's work is of very little importance.

Another Sanskrit chronicler, Suka Pandit, a pupil of Prajyabhatta, wrote *Rajatarangini* after the name of Kalhana's work, dealing with the history of the period from 1517 to 1596. Like Prajyabhatta his topography is defective and chronology incomplete. There are many important gaps in the narrative.

An important Sanskrit work of the medieval period is *Lokaprakasa*.³⁸ It seems to be the product of a number of learned persons including Kshemendra (d. 1066), who composed only a part of it.³⁹ That some portions of the work were written in the seventeenth century is shown by the mention of Shah Jahan in the book.⁴⁰ The *Lokaprakasa* is in four parts. In the first part of the book the names of four main castes and sixty sub-castes have been discussed. The titles of Government officials and ministers have also been given.⁴¹ According to Professor Mohibbul Hasan, the second part, "which contains bills of exchange, bonds, commercial contracts, official orders and so forth, is the biggest and most important of all."⁴² The third part contains a list of synonyms of various kinds, of fishes, birds and mice and of salt, gold coins and gold ornaments.⁴³ The fourth and the last portion of the book is full of satire on the *Kayasthas* (writers and physicians) and the Brahmins who had embraced Islam. A list of the districts of Kashmir is also given in the fourth part.⁴⁴

The *Lokaprakasa* does not rank with history, though it supplies many a useful information for the social history of

medieval Kashmir. Buhler regards it as a *Kosa*; ⁴⁵ but the work appears to be both a *Kosa* and a practical note book describing the various facets of social life and administration in Kashmir. ⁴⁶ One important feature of the book is the admixture of Persian and Kashmiri words in it.

II PERSIAN CHRONICLES WRITTEN BY KASHMIRIS

The *Ratikh-i-Kashmir*⁴⁷ of Sayyid Ali is the only extant Persian source written in Kashmir before the Mughal occupation of Kashmir in 1586. The author was a Baihaqi Sayyid and was a relative of the Shah Mir dynasty, the first Muslim ruling power in Kashmir. His work is essentially important for the activities of Mir Sayyid Ali and his disciples; the iconoclastic activities of Sultan Sikandar and Mir Muhammad Hamadani's influence on the religious thought of the Sultan; Zain-ul-Abidin's enlightened religious policy and his encouragement to arts and crafts; the struggle for power between Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah; and above all the brief biographical notices of Sufis and Rishis flourishing in the Sultanate period. Sayyid Ali furnishes an eye-witness account of Mirza Haidar Dughlat's rule in Kashmir. The Mirza's policy towards the Shias and the circumstances leading to his downfall have been described fully.

Sayyid Ali's treatment of his subject is that of a chronicler rather than of a historian. He is deficient both in chronology and topography. He indulges in fancies while giving the account of the exploits of Sayyid Hasan, the son of Sayyid Taj-ud-din, who had entered the service of Sultan Shihab-ud-din. He is credited with having conquered not only Delhi, Agra and Lahore, but also Persia, Badakshan, Kabul, and many other places outside India. He says that Mir Sayyid Ali acquired scholarship miraculously when he saw his father in a dream.⁴⁸ Far from attempting to explain the causes of the success of the Rishi movement in Kashmir, it lays stress on the role of miracles of the saints.

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of an anonymous author written in 1590 is one of the earliest Persian sources. Based on the Sanskrit

chronicles and some earlier non-existent Persian accounts, it is a narrative of events from ancient times to the reign of Shams-ud-din II (1537-1538). Though incomplete in many important details, it "is useful source, for it describes those events in detail which have been omitted by the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Haidar Malik's *Tarikh* and other Persian chronicles."⁴⁹

But the two great works of medieval Kashmir are the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* of an anonymous writer and Haidar Malik's *Tarikh*. Both are useful from the point of view of chronology and topography. Not only do they furnish a more detailed account of the period than the other chronicles, but they describe their sources as well : Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* ; the chronicles of Jonaraja and Srivara, the Persian *Tarikh*s of Mulla Ahmad, Mulla Nadiri, Qazi Ibrahim and Mulla Hasan Qari, which were then extant. In addition, they derived information from their contemporaries and near contemporaries.

Nothing is known about the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* beyond the popular belief that he was a Shia⁵⁰ and that his great grand-father, Mulla Hasan-ud-din, was an immigrant from Ghazni. The latter was a disciple of Haji Ibrahim Adham, a Kubravi saint of Kashmir. The author's eulogisation of the role of the Baihaqi Sayyids and his lavish praise for their acts of piety, bravery and generosity lead us to the inference that he must have been in their service. No other chronicler has given so much space to describing the careers and characters of the Baihaqi Sayyids than the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*.

The *Baharistan-i-Shahi* describes the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to 1615. Though the pre-Islamic period has been dismissed in a few pages, the events taking place in Kashmir from the accession of Rinchana to 1614 have been narrated fully. It should, however, be remembered that the events like the revolt in Lohara against Qutb-ud-din, the Regency of Queen Sura and the civil war during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin have been left out. Besides, there is only a brief mention of Sultan Haidar Shah and omission of the political affairs of Hasan Shah's reign. Notwithstanding these omissions, the history of Kashmir from the time of Muhammad Shah to the establishment of

Mughal rule in 1586 has been discussed at length. The historical value of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is further enhanced by its full description of the activities of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi. No other chronicler has given so much importance to the role of the founder of the Nurbakshiya⁵¹ order in Kashmir than the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*. What is of great merit, the author narrates in detail the events leading to the Mughal conquest of Kashmir. He alone describes the exile of Yusuf Shah Chak and his son, the last two independent Sultans of Kashmir who fought the Mughals to a finish, but were routed.

The religious zeal shown by the medieval Indian historians like Zia-ud-din Barani and Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni seems to be present in the Persian works of Kashmir also, but with this basic difference, that the Kashmiri writers do not show any fanaticism in their writings. The spirit of religious toleration for which Kashmiris are famous guided the writings of the medieval writers. Thus, the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, though a Shia, condemns the policy of Yaqub Shah towards the Sunnis. He does not like the manner in which Qazi Musa was executed for having recited the name of Ali in the *azan* when ordered to do so by the Sultan.⁵² The medieval terminology of designating the non-Muslims as Kafirs and their acts as *Kufr* is no doubt used, but unlike most of the medieval writers, the Kashmiri chroniclers have used these words in an underogatory sense. This is reflected in their description of the measures taken by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and his successors to restore confidence among the Hindus. Had the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* or Haidar Malik been anti-Hindu, they would have certainly disapproved of the actions of the great king of Kashmir.⁵³ The objective approach of the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is reflected in the following passage :

"The temples destroyed during the time of Sultan Sikandar were rebuilt. Those Hindus who had fled to Jammu and Kishtawar were recalled. The learning of Hindus was encouraged. Hindus were given complete freedom of worship and freedom to perform their customs. They, therefore,

began to celebrate their festivals on particular days of the year. Zain-ul-Abidin himself used to participate in them. He gave presents to singers and dancers and because of this he was very popular. The result of the revival of Hinduism under Zain-ul-Abidin was that Hindu rites and customs revived among the Muslims also. Even men of learning and the *ulama* practised them. This continued until the time of Shams-ud-din Iraqi, who took up arms against the idolatrous practices."⁵⁴

Though *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is descriptive in its character, its author sometimes explains events in terms of human volition. Thus, for example, Mirza Haidar's downfall is attributed to his persecution of the Shias, Shafis and Sufis.⁵⁵ In addition to this Yusaf Shah's pursuit of pleasures and his negligence of the State affairs are accounted for the Mughal occupation of Kashmir. Yaqub Shah's intolerant policy towards the Sunnis and his neglect of the defences have been given as causes for facilitating the task of the Mughals in Kashmir.⁵⁶

The *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is composed in an ornamental language. It occasionally mentions both *Hijra* and *Laukika* dates. Though essentially a political history, it contains notices of some famous saints and learned men of Kashmir.

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Haidar Malik, written in a simple and lucid style, supplies valuable information for the period 1586 to 1621. His purpose in writing history was to preserve the memory of his own ancestors who according to the author played an important part in shaping the course of events in Kashmir.⁵⁷ One of the distinguishing features of Haidar Malik's *Tarikh* is the author's sense of local patriotism which is implicit in his account of the relations of the Chak Sultans with Akbar.

Haidar Malik was the son of Hasan Malik of the village of Chadura and he traced his descent to a Rajput family of Suhadeva's reign. Both Haidar Malik and his father seem to have served Sultan Yusaf Shah Chak. So devoted was the author to the Sultan that he accompanied his master in his exile

in Bihar in 1586. He shot into prominence only after Nur Jahan's marriage with Jahangir when the Emperor honoured him by conferring on him the title of Chagtai and Rais-ul-Mulk.⁵⁸

The part played by the supernatural forces in determining the course of events so omnipresent in Kashmiri literature, poetry and folklore is sometimes found a determining factor in Haidar Malik's chronicle. In fact, there is one section in the chronicle entirely devoted to supernatural events happening in lakes, streams, etc., of Kashmir. But occasionally the author is also concerned with historical causation. Thus the main cause of the downfall of Mirza Haidar has been found in his being cruel towards the people of Kashmir and the ensuing revolts by the Kashmiri nobles against his tyrannical acts.⁵⁹

The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Hasan bin Ali Kashmiri furnishes a short account of Kashmir's past from the earliest times to 1616. Not only are the sources of Hasan's and the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* the same, but both works seem to suffer from the same lacunae. There is a complete omission of the events taking place in the reign of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks, though there is a casual mention of Yaqub Shah's submission to Akbar. The importance of the work, however, lies in its treatment of the history of the Sultanate period up to the end of Hasan Shah's reign (1472-84), for which period it is very useful.

Of the later indigenous Persian sources of Kashmir, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Pandit Narayan Kaul Ajiz, *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar* by Aba Rafi ud-din, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* by Muhammad Azam and *Gauhar-i-Alam* by Badi-ud-din Abul Qasim are important.

Narayan Kaul was a Kashmiri Brahman who wrote his history from the earliest times to 1710, the year when he completed his work. Aba Rafi-ud-din Ahmad was a Kashmiri by birth. He completed his *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar* at Shahjahanabad in 1723. It contains useful information regarding the civil wars which took place after Sultan Hasan Sha's reign. However, this work need to be read with caution as it overemphasizes the religious factor in these wars.⁶⁰ Besides corroborating the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and Haidar Malik's *Tarikh*, Rafi acquaints his

readers with the changes brought about by Mirza Haidar in Kashmir.

The *Waqiat-i-Kashmiri* of Muhammad Azam Diddamari was written in 1747. Among many other sources mentioned by the author are *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. The work is written in simple Persian. It describes not only the political history but also throws light on the life and achievements of various Sayyids, Sufis, *Ulema* and poets. There are useful references to the prevalence of *begar*⁶¹ (forced labour) in Kashmir. The migration of Kashmiris to the Punjab and Delhi is referred to on account of the political disturbances and economic instability in the time of the later Mughals.

The *Gauhar-i-Alam* describes the history of Kashmir from ancient times to 1786. According to its author he made use of the *Nur-Nama* and the accounts by Hasan Qari and Muhammad Azam, but there is no new information in his work.

The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir seem to have copied the traditions of historical writing in Hindustan, and Persia. They were also influenced by Kalhana, the Persian translation of whose *Rajatarangini* was always available to them. But it should be remembered that they could not rise to the height of Kalhana. Unlike Kalhana, their treatment of history as a narrative of occurrences does not suggest any inter-relationship among the events in a broad historical perspective. Whenever they try to explain why things happened, the stress is more or less in explaining historical causation in personal terms.

Unlike the works of Zia-ud-din Barani, Abdul Qadir Badauni and Abul Fazl, the Persian chronicles of Kashmir do not have any representative character. While the difference of approach in the works of these medieval Indian historians helps us in understanding the innermost tensions felt by the orthodox and the secular minded Muslims, the monotonous approach of the Kashmiri writers renders their narrative jejune. The sameness in their approach to history may largely be attributed to their ignorance of the histories of Central Asia, Persia or India. Moreover, they depended on common sources. Neither did they, with the possible exception of Muhammad Azam, try

to separate the grain from the chaff. All this resulted in some grave historical inaccuracies in their works. Thus almost all the medieval chroniclers of Kashmir give a hyperbolic account of the military exploits of Sultan Shihab-ud-din. Of all these writers, however, Muhammad Azam seems to be the only exception to the rule. He alone has applied the critical historical method in his work. Thus he rejects such opinions expressed in earlier works as are not supported by historical evidence. To him the testing of evidence is the first requisite of a true historian.

One significant feature of the medieval historical writings in Kashmir is the absence of any trend among the chroniclers to treat history as a branch of theology, a common feature of medieval European historiography and to some extent noticeable in the works of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal period. There are no doubt occasional references to explain historical causation in terms of supernatural forces or miracles performed by saints, but there seems to be no conscious attempt by the chroniclers of Kashmir at establishing that historical causation always lay in divine will.

Another interesting feature is the influence of local environment on the chroniclers which at times has lent an imaginative or rather poetic touch to their writings. The natural surroundings of rivers, springs, lakes and mountains and the legendary tales connected with them have also found a prominent place in the Sanskrit and Persian chronicles. Interestingly enough, almost all medieval works with a few exceptions begin with the legendary description of the land. It is well to remember that while all histories of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal period ignore the "pre-Islamic period" of Indian history and while many begin their narratives with the description of the general history of Islam, the Kashmiri chroniclers do not show their extra-territorial links with the lands of Islam. Perhaps the geographical isolation of Kashmir fostered a stronger sense of regional bias in their writings.

III CHRONICLES OF NON-KASHMIRIS

The earliest available information supplied by a Muslim regarding Kashmir is found in Al-Masudi's *Muruj-uz-Zahab*. Al Masudi (941-43) describes the geography of Kashmir. He says that in his time there were 60,000 to 70,000 villages in Kashmir, which seems to be incredible. Alberuni's notices in regard to Kashmir are, however, very useful. He was an eye-witness to the campaign of Lohkot (1015-21) launched by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. As he was himself present at the campaign, he was able to establish contact with some Kashmiris. It was on the basis of oral information that he wrote about the political divisions of the south-western mighty mountain mass which separates the Kashmir Valley from the Punjab. Besides telling about the pedestrian habits of the people of Kashmir, Alberuni writes about the conveyances used by the Kashmiri nobles and the climate of Kashmir.

There are three Central Asian histories which throw some valuable light on Kashmir. The *Zafarnama* of Sharaf-ud-din Al Yazdi, completed in 1424-25, is a history of Timur and Khalil Sultan. It is especially important for Sultan Sikandar's relations with Timur and also for the geography of Kashmir. The *Malfuzat-Timuri*, attributed to Timur, also contains useful references regarding Sikandar's relations with Timur. It also gives a brief description of the topography of the Kashmir Valley.

One important Central Asian work is the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar. Written in 1546, it is a history of the Mughals of Central Asia. Mirza Haidar led two invasions against Kashmir : once from Kashgar in 1533 on behalf of Sultan Said, and the second from Lahore in November 1540 when he accomplished the conquest of the Valley and ruled it for ten years. Though he has given us a full description of his first invasion of Kashmir, he is wanting in information with regard to the second invasion. There is also very scanty information in regard to his administration of Kashmir. However, Mirza Haidar gives useful details in regard to the Hindu temples and

ancient sites, agriculture, religion and geography of Kashmir. He pays glowing tributes to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir for introducing various arts and crafts in Kashmir.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya Ahmad Sirhindi briefly mentions the conflict between Ali Shah of Kashmir and Jasrat Khokar. A brief description of Azam Humayun's relations with Mirza Haidar and the nobles of Kashmir at the time of his revolt against Islam Shah Sur is given in *Tarikh-i-Daudi* of Abdullah and *Tarikh-Khan-i-Jahani*. Both works are, however, wrong in stating that Azam Humayun was killed in an encounter with the Kashmiri forces while Mirza Haidar was still alive.

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Astrabadi and the *Maasir-i-Rahimi* by Khwaja Abdul Baqi Nihawani have no new information to offer. The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* by Abdul Qadir Badauni refers to famous saints and men of letters in Kashmir. His account of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi is useful who is, said to have played an important role in the Mughal occupation of Kashmir.⁶³ There are useful references about Akbar's relations with the Chak rulers.

The *Majalis-ul-Salatin* by Muhammad Sharif-an-Najafi, written in 1628-29, describes at length the story of Rinchana's conversion to Islam. The *Haft Iqlim* by Amin Ahmad Razi was completed in 1594. It refers to the shawl industry of Kashmir and contains short notices of Kashmiri poets, saints and rulers. The author also briefly mentions Mirza Haidar's conquest of Kashmir.

Among other non-Kashmiri chronicles must be mentioned *Akbar-nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* of Jahangir, *Iqbal-nama Jahangiri* of Mutamid Khan, *Badshah-nama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah-nama* of Muhammad Amin Qazwini, *Amal-i-Sadeh* of Muhammad Saleh Kumbu and the *Dabistan-al-Mazahab* of an unknown author.

The *Akbar-nama* briefly describes the history of Mirza Haidar's rule in Kashmir. But the invasions of Kashmir by Abul Maali and Qara Bahadur, the relations of the Mughals with the Chak Sultans, and the Mughal conquest of Kashmir in 1586

have been described in detail. His account is not deficient in dates. Nor is his topography defective. There are a few lapses in his account, but on the whole, it is trustworthy and reliable. The *Ain-i-Akbari* is a mine of information regarding the revenue system of Kashmir. The author throws light on the changes which were brought about in the field of revenue administration in Kashmir after the Mughal conquest. There is also a detailed information with regard to the topography, fruits, flowers and food grains of the Valley. Nor does Abul Fazl ignore the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the people of Kashmir.

The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* supplies us an interesting and detailed information regarding the life of the inhabitants of the Valley. He describes the practice of planting tulip flowers on the roofs of buildings as a peculiarity of the people of Kashmir. He says that silkworm eggs were imported into Kashmir from Gilgit and Tibet. Jahangir was a keen observer of things. He writes about the dress and food habits of the people of Kashmir. We learn about the celebration of *Vyath Truwah*⁶⁴ in Kashmir. He also refers to the bridges over the Jhelam in the city. The emperor gives us a clear description of the great plague and fire in Kashmir in 1617-19.

Jahangir's references to the political history of Kashmir are useful. He writes that "Kashmir is much indebted to Mirza Haidar for its excellences". His account of the conquest of Kishtwar (1618) is important.

However, Jahangir's remarks regarding Kashmiris should be read with a grain of salt. He calls them "animal-like Kashmiris". He says "Although most of the houses are on the river bank, not a drop of water touches their bodies. They are as dirty outside as inside."⁶⁵ In fact, he failed to notice the *bathing-ghauts* on the River Jhelam and the *hamams* attached to the mosques in Kashmir.

There are useful references in the *Iqbal-nama Jahangiri* with regard to the plague of 1616 and the campaign of Kishtwar. The dress of the people of Kashmir has also been described.

Both the works of Abdul Hamid Lahori and Muhammad Amin Qazwini throw some light on Shah Jahan's reign in

Kashmir. There are occasional references to the habits of the people of the city. Lahori has depicted a graphic picture of the famine which stalked Kashmir in 1641 during the governorship of Tarbiyat Khan. Qazwini's description of the oppressive rule of Itiqad Khan is useful.

Kumbu's account of the destruction of temples in Anantnag by Shah Jahan is useful. It was during his time that the ancient name of Anantnag was changed into Islamabad. He also describes Achaḥal.⁶⁶

The *Kitab-i-Dabistan-i-Mazhab* of an unknown author contains useful references to Kashmir. The author of this excellent work on contemporary Indian religions seems to have visited Kashmir several times. He writes about the popularity of *Saivism* in Kashmir during the reign of Shah Jahan and names some well-known Saivite scholars of his time.

The *Alamgir-nama* of Muhammad Kazim, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Bhandari, *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri* of Aurangzeb, *Maasir-ul-Umara* of Shah Nawaz Khan and *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat* are valuable for the reign of Aurangzeb in Kashmir. The *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri* and the *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, in particular, help us in understanding the attitude of Aurangzeb towards Kashmir. Among various other restrictions imposed by Aurangzeb in Kashmir, he also stopped the practice of hereditary singers of Kashmir who used to welcome the Mughal Governor and high officials on their assuming office.⁶⁷

IV BIOGRAPHIES OF SAINTS⁶⁸

The period under review is rich in biographical accounts of Sufis, most of them written by their disciples. Although they have greater historical value than any other type of non-political literature produced in Kashmir, there is a conscious attempt on the part of the biographers to glorify the deeds of their masters. Thus their accounts are replete with the miracles and supernatural powers of the saints. Notwithstanding this criticism, the hagiological literature enables us to understand the

powerful impact of Sufism on Kashmiri mind. We can feel the pulse of the common man in medieval Kashmir through this type of literature. In fact, the religious literature of Kashmir does not show any detachment from the life, yearnings and aspirations of the common man.

The *Khulsat-ul-Manaqib* of Nur-ud-din Jafar Badakshi is a life of Sayyid Ali Hamadani. The author was a disciple of the great saint, but unfortunately he does not make any mention of the activities of Sayyid Ali in Kashmir.

The *Tuhfat-ul-Ahbabd* of an unknown author describes the life of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi, the founder of Shiaism in Kashmir. The author seems to have been a fanatic Shia who in his zeal to show the greatness of the Mir highly exaggerates his iconoclastic activities. However, the historical importance of his work can hardly be over emphasized. Not only does he refer to some political events of the Sultanate period, but there are occasional references to the *Khanqah* life, dress of the *Qazis* and *Ulema*, food habits and beliefs of the people of Kashmir, etc.

Dastur-us-Salikin, popularly known as *Wirdul-Muridin*, contains biographical notices of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. It was completed in 1554-55. *Rishi-nama* by the same author describes the miracles of his spiritual master. It also gives a brief account of the Rishi saints of Kashmir.

The *Hilyat-ul-Arifin* of Khwaja Ishaq Qari is a biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. The work affords us a glimpse into the *Khanqa* life in Kashmir. There are useful references to the food habits of the inhabitants of the Valley and intoxicants like liquor, *bhang* and opium which were common. The *Tazkirat-ul-Arifin* was written by Mulla Ali Raina in 1587. This biography of Shaikh Hamza also contains some references to the social and religious life of medieval Kashmir.

Rishi-nama by Baba Nasib, completed in 1631, is an invaluable source for the history and growth of the Rishi movement in Kashmir. The author describes the activities of Shaikh Nur-ud-din and furnished a useful information regarding the discussions of the Brahman priests and Muslim saints on

religious issues. A brief reference to Mirza Haidar's religious policy towards the Shias has been made in the work. There are useful references to the dress and food habits of the inhabitants of the Valley. Baba Nasib's work helps us in understanding the attitude of Shaikh Nur-ud-din towards the *Mullahs* who have been described as hypocrites and materialists. However, the work suffers from certain defects. In the first place, a great stress has been laid on the supernatural powers of Shaikh Nur-ud-din Wali in getting converts to Islam and also those of Shaikh Hamza in crushing the religious activities of the Shias. Secondly Baba Nasib had irrational prejudices against the Shias who are dubbed as "wretched". Thus his account of the persecution of the Shias by Mirza Haidar is not free from exaggeration. In spite of these defects, *Rishi-nama* reveals the mind of an orthodox Sunni Musalman of the medieval period.

Among the general biographies of saints *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, of Daud Mishkati, *Futuh-i-Kubraviya* of Wahab and *Khawariq-us-Salikin* of Mulla bin Abdus Sabur are important.

The *Asrar-ul-Abrar* was completed in 1653. It describes the life of the prominent saints of Kashmir. Though there is a brief description of the activities of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his disciples, the history of Rishi saints has been described fully. Some sayings of Shaikh Nur-ud-din, which are not found in Nasib's *Rishi-nama*, have been recorded by Mishkati. The author quotes his sources and occasionally refers to the social habits of the people.

The *Khawariq-us-Salakin*, completed in 1698, also gives a biographical account of the famous Sufis of Kashmir. Besides, the work refers to the centres of learning in Kashmir. The author also describes the mystical powers of Shaikh Nur-ud-din Wali.

The *Futuh-i-Kubraviya* describes the life of Kubravi and Rishi saints of Kashmir. It was written in 1748-49. Besides describing the brief history of the Sultans of Kashmir, the author of the book also depicts the history of Islam in the Valley from the time of Rinchana to that of Akbar.

V EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS

The first Europeans to visit Kashmir were Father Jerome Xavier and Benedict de Goes who arrived in the company of Akbar in 1597. Xavier's account of the sufferings of the people of Kashmir in the famine of 1596 is important. Francis Pelsaert's description of Kashmir,⁷⁰ though sketchy, is useful. But Bernier,⁷¹ who came to Kashmir with Aurangzeb, supplies useful information regarding the shawl trade. His account of the social and economic life is also important. Father Desideri and Father Manoel Fryer⁷² have also left an account of their impressions which also throw some light on the social and economic life. In 1783 Kashmir was visited by George Forster⁷³ who describes the economic conditions in the time of the Afghans in Kashmir.

VI KASHMIRI LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

The Kashmiri poems of Lalla Ded, Shaikh Nur-ud-din Wali and Habba Khatun are rich in giving useful references to social history of the medieval period. Though Lalla Ded and Nur-ud-din have sung didactic songs, they are an extremely valuable source for the study of social conditions. Their criticism of social life is somewhat balanced. Habba's tone, in general, is gloomy, but her songs disclose a wealth of information and reveal the deep emotions which moved the oppressed women of that age.

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- ¹ The Buddhist missionaries sent to various parts of Asia were supposed to maintain a record of their proselytising activities. This must have become the basis for 'much historical thinking and writing'.
- ² For the impact of Persia on Kashmir, see my article 'Persian Influences in Kashmir in the Sultanate period, 1320-1586', *Islamic Culture*, Vol. LI, No. 1, Jan. 1977, pp. 1-10.

- ³ Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, English trans. M. A. Stein, 2 vols. London, 1900, Book VII, verse 1715.
- ⁴ Romilla Thapar, 'Historical Ideas in Rajatarangini' in *Historians of Medieval India* (ed. Mohibbul Hasan), p. 2.
- ⁵ *Rajatarangini* (Stein), Book VII, verse 13, verse 400, Book VIII, verse 890-900, verse 2224.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, Book VII, verse 449.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, Book IV, verses, 347-48.
- ⁸ Dr. R. K. Parmu wrongly says that Jonaraja "does not enlighten us on the causes which were responsible for the downfall of Hindu sovereignty", see *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 4-5. In sober fact one has to read Jonaraja's work between the lines for a proper understanding of the conditions prevailing in Kashmir before the advent of Islam.
- ⁹ Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, English tr. by Dutt, Calcutta, 1835, pp. 5-15.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- ^{10a} He is known to this day as 'Budshah', the Great King.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
- ¹² Amir-i-Kabir, Ali Sani, Sayyid Ali Hamadani, popularly known in the Valley as 'Shah-i-Hamadan' was the son of Mir Sayyid Muhammad Al-Hasani of Hamadan, Persia. He played an important role in the spread of Islam in Kashmir. His Khanqah at Srinagar is known for its religious and political importance. See Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar (1846-1947), a study in Socio-cultural Change*, 1978, Srinagar, pp. 9-10n.
- ¹³ *Rajatarangini* (Dutt), p. 57.
- ¹⁴ Dr. A. Q. Rafiqi tends to believe that the change in Sikandar's attitude towards the Hindus was prompted by the opposition of Sayyid Hisari, a sufi saint, against the Sultan's anti-Hindu policy. (*Sufism in Kashmir*, Delhi, n.d., pp. 102-03). This is not correct because neither the hagiological literature nor the Persian chronicles warrant the assertion of my friend. In all probability the Sultan's softened attitude towards the non-Muslims must have been guided by political expediency rather than the supposed influence of the saint on the Sultan.
- ¹⁵ *Rajatarangini* (Dutt), p. 65. Originally the term *Yavana* meant Ionian or Greek. But later it was used for any foreigner including Muslims. Jonaraja, however, seems to have used it for the Sayyids.
- ¹⁶ *Rajatarangini* (Srikanth Koul's edn., p. 112 (St. 609).
- ¹⁷ *Rajatarangini* (Dutt), p. 57.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ¹⁹ N. K. Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir*, Lucknow, 1976, p. 174.
- ²⁰ *Rajatarangini* (ed. Koul), St. 952.

- ²¹ *Ibid.*, St. 313. Stein says that Rajasthaniyas were State officials.
Rajatarangini (Stein), I, Book VII, 601 n.
- ²² *Rajatarangini* (ed. Koul), St. 887.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, St. 841.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, (Bombay edition by Peterson, 1896), st. 1325 sqq.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, (ed. Koul), st. 841-49.
- ²⁶ See for greater details of these invasions, *Yuan-Chao-Pi-Shi*, *The Secret History of Mongol Dynasty* (Eng. tr. Wei Kwei-Sun), Aligarh, 1957, p. 170 and 26 n ; Henry H. Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, I, London, 1876, p. 135 ; III, 1888, London, pp. 184-85 ; E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, I. London, 1888, pp. 138 and 368, see also p. 305 ; Henry Yule, *Marco Polo*, I, 3rd edn., London, 1903, p. 98.
- ^{26a} Some writers (Rafiqi, *op. cit.*, p. 158 ; *Rajatarangini* (ed. Koul, p. 101) have fallen into the error of taking Mulla Nur-ud-din of Jonaraja for Shaikh-Nur-din Wali. Actually Jonaraja has referred to Mulla Nur-ud-din, the *Parma Guru* (religious preacher), which the mystic Shaikh Nur-ud-din was not. Mulka Nur-ud-din of Jonaraja is the same person as mentioned in the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* (transcript No. 960, Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, f. 26) the *Zafarnama* of Sharaf-ud-din Ali Yazdi (Vol. II, ed. Moulvi M. Ilaahdad, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1855-88, p. 164) and the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 85, f. 319 a.b. Rafiqi's assumption that Shaikh Nur-ud-din raised his voice against the anti-Hindu policy of Sultan Sikandar is not born out by facts of history. Had the Shaikh done so he would have certainly won the approbation of the chronicler for he does not fail to praise the tolerant attitude of Zain-ul-Abidin towards the Hindus.
- ²⁷ *Rajatarangini* (ed. Koul), p. 40.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, st. 597.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, st. 388.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Jaina-Rajatarangini* (Eng. tr. Dutt), p. 165 sqq.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- ³⁴ *Rajatarangini* (Stein), II, p. 373.
- ³⁵ The Baihaqi came to Kashmir in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. They entered into matrimonial alliances with the royal family, and played an important role in the politics of the Sultanate of Kashmir.
- ³⁶ *Jaina-Rajatarangini* (Dutt), pp. 234-35, 319.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 235.
- ³⁸ To Professor A. Weber we owe a great deal for publishing the extracts of the work in *Indische Studien*, XVIII, pp. 289-412.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-300.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 337, 341.

- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 302 sqq.
- ⁴² *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, 2nd edn., 197, Srinagar, p. 4.
- ⁴³ *Indische Studien*, XVII, p. 348 sqq.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 369 sqq.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292.
- ⁴⁶ *Rajatarangini* (Stein), II, p. 376.
- ⁴⁷ Dr. G. M. D. Sufi (*Kashmir*, I, Lahore, 1948-1949, p. xi) says that the work was written in Muhammad Shah's reign (1530-37). But Professor Mohibbul Hasan says that it was completed in 1579 during Yusuf Shah's first reign, which lasted for about two months (*Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 5n). The latter view appears to be correct because of the absence of the names of Sayyid Mubarak and Lohar Shah in the Chronicle.
- ⁴⁸ Sayyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, R.L.S., f. 10a.
- ⁴⁹ *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 6.
- ⁵⁰ *Kashmir*, I, p. XI ; *Historians of Medieval India* (ed. Mohibbul Hasan), p. 56 ; *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 8.
- ⁵¹ For an excellent discussion on this subject, see *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Appendix A.
- ⁵² *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, I.O. 509, f. 181 a.b.
- ⁵³ Zia-ud-din Barani and Badauni in their works, for example, show their fanaticism by criticising liberal-minded kings.
- ⁵⁴ Quoted in *Historians of Medieval India* (ed. Mohibbul Hasan), p. 57.
- ⁵⁵ *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, 181 a.b.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Haidar Malik Chadura, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, I.O., 510, f. 3a.
- ⁵⁸ For details, see Mohibbul Hasan, 'A note on the Assassination of Sher Afghan' (Dr. Yazdani Commemoration Vol. ed., H. K. Sherwani, 1966).
- ⁵⁹ Haidar Malik Chadura, *op. cit.*, f. 146a.
- ⁶⁰ See, Nawadir-ul-Akhbar, B.M. Add. 24029, f. 78b.
- ⁶¹ For the system of forced labour in Kashmir, see my article 'Some Aspects of Corvee in Kashmir', *Research Biannual*, Vol. I, No. II, Srinagar, 1976, pp. 58-71.
- ⁶² His views on Shihab-ud-din's military conquests in Hindustan and Lalla Ded's supposed talk with Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani differ from those of the earlier writers.
- ⁶³ Nobody can dispute with Rafiqi that "the Mughal conquest of Kashmir.....formed a part of Akbar's ambitious scheme of conquest." *op. cit.*, p. 236. But it is hard to escape the fact, as Rafiqi does, that Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi played a leading role in the Mughal conquest of Kashmir. The very fact that Akbar sought his help more than once suggests that the Great Mughal must have been motivated by the representations of Sarfi also. That Sarfi wielded great influence with

the grandees of Kashmir is shown by his representation to Akbar when he claimed that they would follow his advice in any eventuality. See *Akbar-nama*, III, p. 496.

⁶⁴ See for this festival, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Rodger and Beveridge), II, pp. 167-68.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 93.

⁶⁶ *Amal-i-Saleh* (Bib. Ind.), II, Calcutta, 1932, p. 41.

⁶⁷ *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, f. 77a (S. R. Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Delhi, 1972, p. 132). The practice of entertaining the visitors to Kashmir with the musical dance, was, however revived in the time of the Afghan, Sikh and Dogra rulers. See for details, *History of Srinagar* (1846-1947), pp. 96-97 and n.

⁶⁸ I have made use of the manuscripts available in the Orinetal Research Library, Srinagar.

⁶⁹ Du Jarric, P., *An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar*, tr. by C. H. Payne as *Akbar and the Jesuits*. Broadway Series, London, 1926.

⁷⁰ Pelsaert, F., *Remonstrantie*, tr. by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl as *Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1923.

⁷¹ Bernier, F., *Travels in Mughal Empire* (1656-68), Oxford, 1914.

⁷² Fillipo, De Filippi, *The Travels of Ippolit Desideri of Pistoia 1712-27*, London, 1937.

⁷³ Forster, G., *A Journey from Bengal to England, through the northern part of India, Kashmir, etc.*, 2 vols., London, 1808.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

(From Sultan Fateh Shah's reign, 1505, to the time of Amir Zaman Shah's fall in 1801)

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KASHMIR is perhaps the only part of India to possess a record of continuous and unbroken history from the very earliest period up to the present time. The excellent panorama of the valley, its traditions and fables, rise and fall of various kingdoms, the victories and defeats of the people and the cultural attainments have been very elaborately noted down by the sons of the soil.

The sources of the period can be discussed under four heads, namely :

- (I) Contemporary literature.
- (II) Archaeological evidence.
- (III) Accounts of foreign travellers and historians.
- (IV) Historical literature composed in recent times.

(I) *Contemporary Literature :*

It was in 1587 that Akbar was able to conquer the valley and annex it with his vast empire in India. It was only after a strenuous and determined fight that the Mughals with their superior numbers and unlimited resources were able to plant their banner on the palace at Gojwara. The people of Kashmir, one and all, irrespective of caste or creed, fought the rising tide of the Mughal imperialism in the valley. The resistance offered by the Kashmiris and the sacrifices made for preserving the freedom of the valley form a brilliant chapter in the annals of our State.

Recently Professor G. M. Hajini of S. P. College and myself wrote two detailed discourses describing the 52 years' heroic resistance of Kashmiris against the Mughals and the same were published in the special issues of the *Pratap*, Magazine of S. P. College, Srinagar.

(a) The first important source of our information is the work of Pandit Shukka who has narrated the main events of Kashmir from 1512 to 1596. He has called his book as *Raj Tarangi*. Although the book had been composed in the second half of the sixteenth century yet its language and style is much inferior to the classical work of Kalhan. Shukka has described the arrival of emperor Akbar to Srinagar and how he was taken in a huge boat procession in the river Vitasta known now as Jhelum. Akbar entertained 80,000 citizens of Srinagar at Id-Gah to celebrate his victory in Kashmir. He ordered the construction of a massive wall around Hari-Parbat so that people could find employment and at the same time provide a protecting wall to Mughal troops against the attack of the local patriots.

(b) Earlier to Shukka's writing the important work *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haider Dualghat cannot be ignored. Mirza Haider was a cousin of Babar, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in our country, who completed his chronicle within seventeen years of Babar's death. According to Erskine, "It is the production of a learned and accomplished man and, in the latter parts, of a contemporary intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the commentaries of Babar, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other and do honour to their age."

(c) Mirza Haider came to Kashmir when Shah Miri ruler, Fateh Shah, was the Sultan of Kashmir. Mirza Haider tried to make the State a part of the Mughal Kingdom which was becoming extinct in India at that time on account of the rise of Sher-Shah Suri. Mirza interfered in local politics and was able to make Nazuk Shah a puppet in his hands. He had to pay dearly for it and he was killed by the patriotic Kashmiris along with his family at the battle of Wathur. His work discusses some important events at the time of the decline of the Chak dynasty

in Kashmir. Mirza Haider is perhaps the only invader of Kashmir who attacked the valley from its Northern pass of Sonamarg.

(d) *Baharistan-i-Shahi* : The book had been written in 1614 and is one of the most authentic history of Kashmir but unluckily its author is not yet known. It is one of the excellent books on the early history of Kashmir, especially the Chak period. Recently an article about the book has been written which has been published in the *Shiraza*, an Urdu journal of Jammu and Kashmir Cultural Academy.

(e) *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazal : The whole book is invaluable for the account of Akbar's reign and administrative system. It was first published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in three volumes. It is too famous a book to need any comment.

(f) *Akbar Nama* by Abul Fazal : Contains an excellent chapter on Kashmir, its earlier history, its religious places, and describes local fairs and festivals. The book is treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of rival books by Nizam-ud-Din and Badayuni and it brings the history on to a later date than they do.

(g) There are other important books composed during these times which throw a flood of light on the history of Kashmir. As these books are known all over the world I will only mention a few of them without my comments. Some of these books are ; *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* of Badayuni ; *Tabakat-i-Akbari* by Nizam-ud-Din ; *Tarikh-i-Ferista* of Mohammad Qasim Ferishta ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by Emperor Jahangir ; *Wakaya-i-Azad Beg* ; *Tatimma-i-Wakiat-Jahangir* by Mohammad Hadi ; *Badshah Nama* of Kazwani ; *Badshah Nama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori ; *Shah Jahan Nama* by Inayat Khan ; *Alamgir Nama* of Mirza Mohammad Khan ; *Masir-i-Alamgiri* of Mohammad Shah Mustaid Khan ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Mahmud Shaheen* of Mohammad Hasham Khafi Khan, etc. There are innumerable books written by foreigners during this period. These have been written from time to time by Portuguese and Dutch Missionaries, and English, French and German travellers who visited India during the Mughal

period. Their works are published and translated in different languages.

(h) *Wakat-i-Kashmiri* by Mohammad Azam Dedimari (died 1765) : In addition to political history the author has collected a good deal of information on the notable saints and poets of Kashmir. Numerous later works, such as *Tazkarah-i-Ulai Hind*, *Hadaicul-Hanfa* and *Twarikh-i-Gourher-i-Alam*, etc. etc., derived material from Dedimari's work. It was published in 1886 in Lahore and its translation into Urdu by Munshi Ashraf Ali was published in Delhi in 1846.

(i) *Tarikh Kashmir* of Rais-ul-Mulk Malick Haider Chadura who accompanied Kashmir's last ruler Yousuf Shah Chak in exile. He became a grandee of the Mughal empire. The history is written in two parts, the first deals with the History of Kashmir and the second deals with the contemporary rulers of Khurasan and Turan. The Research Department of Kashmir has obtained a copy of it from a manuscript in England and is still unpublished. Its last recorded date falls in 1619.

(j) *Tarikh-i-Shahnama* : Under Dewan Sukhjewan's (died 1765) Governorship of Kashmir a committee of seven eminent Persian scholars, namely, Sami, Naveed, Rajeh, Muteen, Taufique, Hassan and Shaique was commissioned to prepare a compendium of Kashmir History but the Governor was murdered before the work could be completed. Only some fragments are available at present, e.g., Shaique's touching biographies of local Saints and Taufique's Chak period of History. Shaique's incomplete work in manuscript form is in the Research Department.

(k) *Labu-Tawarikh* by Bahu-Din : It begins from ancient times and covers the history of Kashmir up to 1828. Its first part deals with Kashmir geography, the second describes the political history, and the third describes the Saints and Sufis of Kashmir. The microfilm copies of the first two parts have been obtained by the Research Department from England. The third part is missing so far.

(l) *Bagi-Sulaiman* by Mir Saadullah Shahabadi written in Persian verse carries out history up to the time of Afghan Governor Juma Khan (1787 to 1793). Its material on kings, ministers and saints is mostly derived from Dedimari's history.

It is still unpublished and the manuscript is in the Research Department.

(m) *Tarikh-i-Moulvi Hidayat Ullah* : It is in fact a supplement to Dedimari and completes the chronicle up to Afghan Governor Juma Khan's rule. The author died in 1206 Hijri and the book has not been traced so far.

(n) *Nizam-ul-Waquaia* by Nizam-ud-Din : It traces Kashmir history up to Dewan Kripa Ram's time who was Governor of Kashmir during Sikh rule from 1827 to 1831. The author died in 1240 Hijri and there is only one copy of this history in the personal library of Mufti-i-Azam of Kashmir.

(o) *Tarikh-i-Hadi*, referred to by Peer Hassan Khuyuhani and *Tahkikat-i-Amiri* written by Amir-ud-Din Pakhliwal (died 1865) are not traceable anywhere.

(p) *Wajeez-u-Tawarikh*—written by Mulla Abdul Nabi is an extremely concise book on the history of Kashmir and comes up to the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The manuscript of this book is in the Jammu and Kashmir Research Department.

(q) *Gulzari-Kashmir* by Dewan Kripa Ram—It was written on the directive of Mr. Roberts, the then Judicial Commissioner of Punjab. It was published in 1871 and its style is akin to *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal. Its first published copy is in the S. P. Library, Srinagar. It deals with a variety of subjects, such as Arts and Crafts, Products and Manufacture of Kashmir besides Political History.

(r) *Muntakhab-ul Tawarikh*—by Pandit Narayan Kaul Ajiz. It was written by the author on the initiative of Arif Khan, Mughal Governor of Kashmir from 1710 to 1711. Arif Khan had collected a number of manuscripts dealing with the earlier history of Kashmir and he offered them to "Ajiz" for coordinating and for writing a new history. Ajiz compared these histories with the history of Malik Chadura and thereby the book has lost much of its value. Its microfilm copy has been obtained by the Research Department from England.

(s) *Majmua-i-Tawarikh*, by Pandit Birbal Kachroo, in Persian, records the history of Kashmir from the earliest times up to 1835. It is an authentic work on Sikh Rule and the manuscript is in the Research Department Library at Srinagar.

(t) *Guldastai Kashmir*, in Urdu, has been written by Pandit Hargopal Kaul Khasta and published in 1883 in Lahore. The book has been written by the author mainly from the Hindu point of view and is therefore not very much dependable. Similar is the case with another work *Nigaristan-i-Kashmir* written by Qazi Zahoor-ul-Hassan Nazim in Urdu and published in Delhi in 1934. This book has been written from the Muslim point of view and it is also not a trustworthy book.

(u) *Tawarik-i-Hassan*, written by Peer Hasan Shah Khuhi-hami in four volumes, is one of the finest and exhaustive accounts covering almost the entire gamut of our history from the first Kashmiri King Gonanda I to Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Its Persian text has been published by the Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir and the Urdu translation of one of its volumes dealing with political history has been done by Moulvi Ibrahim and published by Noor Mohammadi Press of Srinagar in 1961.

(v) *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, by Muhsin Fani, written perhaps in 1648, deals with various religions of the world. The book has been translated into many languages.

(w) There are numerous other works which though not exclusively dealing with the political history of Kashmir have a lot to say about Kashmir during the period under reference. *Asrar-ul-Abrar* by Hazrat Baba Daud Khaki (biography of Saints especially of Rishi order compiled in 1655). Two copies of the book are in the Library of Jammu and Kashmir Research Department.

- (i) *Fatuh-at-i-Kubrivia* by Abdul Wahab Noori (died 1182 Hijri) describes biographies of Kashmir and Iranian Saints of Kubrivia Order.
- (ii) *Khawarik-u-Saalkeen*—written by Ahmad-Bini-Sabur in 1101 Hijri deals exclusively with saints of Kashmir.
- (iii) *Khumsa-i-Bahaudin*—written by Bahaudin (died in 1248 Hijri) deals with five mystic orders. (Qadiri, Naqashbandi, Chisti, Suhrawardhi and Rishi). These books throw a flood of light on the spiritual life of Kashmir. Manuscripts of (ii) and (iii) are in the

Research Library.

- (iv) *Panj Masnavi*—these are five Persian books on the natural beauty of Kashmir written by five Kashmiri authors named (1) Salim—died 1647, (2) Kalim—died 1652, (3) Mir Illahi—died 1653, (4) Ahsan—died 1663, (5) Khisali Harvi—date of death not known.

(x) *Akbar Nama*, by Hamidullah Islamabadi and its versified translation by Wahab Parrey of Hajan in Kashmiri, remained proscribed during British Rule. It is one of the finest epics written by two Kashmiris in two languages (Persian and Kashmiri) depicting the defeat of the British and Sikh forces at the hands of the Afghans. Both the books have local touches pertaining to the Afghan period in the history of Kashmir.

(y) *Khulasat-ul-Tarikh*—by Mirza Saif-ud-Din. It is still unpublished and perhaps its one manuscript copy is with Mirza Kamal-ud-Din, ex-President, Srinagar Municipality. Another copy is in the British Museum. Its Urdu translation is completed by Mirza Kamal-ud-Din this year.

(z) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*—written by Anand Ram Pahlwan in Persian—describes the history of Kashmir from the earliest period up to the beginning of Dogra rule in Kashmir.

(II) *Archaeological Evidence :*

This source can be further divided into monumental (relating to buildings and monuments), epigraphic (relating to inscriptions) and numismatic (relating to coins) evidence.

There are a number of books which deal with the Mughal monuments, inscriptions as also the coins found in India and it would be simply useless to discuss them here as they are known the world over. I shall briefly refer to some of the books which have been written in Kashmir.

1. *Archaeological Remains in Jammu and Kashmir State* written by Pandit Anand Kaul who was perhaps the first President of Srinagar Municipal Committee. The book has been published in a concise form but still discusses some of the

monuments in a very lucid way.

2. *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*—written by Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, ex-Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State. It is an up-to-date, lavishly illustrated and systematic treatise on the subject. It is very useful to the scholars who are interested in the wonderful architectural monuments of Kashmir.

3. *The Gardens of the Great Mughals*—written by Mrs. Villiers Stuart in 1913 and published in London. It is a fascinating and well illustrated treatise on a highly interesting subject. The book deals not only with the gardens built by the Great Mughals at Agra, Delhi and Lahore but also with those in Kashmir.

(III) *Accounts of Foreign Travellers and Historians :*

1. "The first Europeans to visit Kashmir were Father Jerome Xavier, a Navarese of high birth, and Benoist De Gois who appeared at the court of Akbar and accompanied the Emperor to Kashmir. Their short sketches of Kashmir and its people were published in Antwerp in 1605" (Bamzai, *History of Kashmir*).

2. Francis Bernier wrote *Travels in India* in 1672. This book contains a number of letters concerning his journey to Kashmir along with Aurangzeb in 1665. Though Bernier's account is now centuries old, the book is still justly regarded as a classic amongst works relating to Kashmir. His portrayal of the habits and life of Kashmiris appears as real now as it was then. Bernier's is the only standard work on Kashmir of those issued before the nineteenth century and it is not only the best account we have of the visit of the Mughal Emperor but also of the conditions of Kashmir in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

3. *Forster's Letters*—a journey from Bengal to St. Petersburg: This book offers a vivid account of the state of tyranny that prevailed in Kashmir during the Afghan time.

4. *Letters from India* by Victor Jacquemont (published in London): Jacquemont's book is justly regarded a classic on the countries he visited, such as India, Tibet and also Kashmir. It is a very interesting and informative book.

5. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces* by W. Moorecraft, published in London : Moorecraft visited Kashmir round about 1825. He has given us a general description of Kashmir and has narrated the political and economic set up prevailing in Kashmir then.

6. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Askardoo* by G. T. Vigne (London) : It is one of the most standard and important works on Kashmir.

7. *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* by Carl A. A. Hogel (London) : Hogel's book is also informative and interesting.

8. *Thirty-five years in the East* by F. M. Honibarger (London) : This book also discusses Kashmir and is very important.

9. *Travel in India and Kashmir* by B. E. Schonberg (London) : The Kashmir portion is slight as compared with the rest of the book but it is eminently readable.

10. *Jammu and Kashmir Territories* by Frederic Drew (London) : A systematic work on the geography, topography, ethnology and languages of Jammu and Kashmir.

11. *Valley of Kashmir* by Walter Lawrence (London) : It is an important work and also a comprehensive one. It is an authentic and illuminating record of the physical features of the valley, its flora and fauna, language, history, social customs and occupations of the people.

(IV) *Historical Literature Composed in Recent Times*

Hundreds of books have recently been published in India and outside about the history of Kashmir. As the list of books is a very large one I will discuss only some of the very important works.

1. *Kashmir Past and Present* by Pandit Gwash Lal : It is a useful handy sketch and describes the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the present.

2. *Kashmir* by Sir Francis Younghusband : One of the best books of modern Kashmir written by the then British Resident in Kashmir. The practical information in the earlier

chapters is now out of date, but the main text and the pictures make it a splendid work which merits careful perusal.

3. *Kashmir* by Dr. G. M. D. Sofi. (2 Vols.) published in 1949: It is a comprehensive and voluminous record of the achievement of Kashmiris in all respects after the advent of Islam into the valley.

4. *Twarikh-i-Kashmir* by Mohammad Din Fauk, published at Lahore in Urdu: It is a good book on the geography, history and folk-lore of the valley.

5. *History of Freedom Movement in Kashmir* by P. N. Bazaz: It is also an exhaustive book on the history and culture of the people of the valley. It mainly discusses the struggle of the people of the valley against vested interests and such other elements.

6. *Inside Kashmir* by Prem Nath Bazaz: An informative work on the modern history of Kashmir and on the present educational, economic and political conditions.

7. *A History of Kashmir* by P. N. Kaul Bamzai: The book has been published recently (in 1962) and is a voluminous one.

It is an excellent book on the political, social and cultural history of Kashmir from the earliest time to the present age. Apart from the story of kings and rulers, it gives some account of the social, economic and cultural elements. It brings out a peculiar feature of Kashmiris and how their synthetic culture took shape.

8. *Kashmir under the Sultans* by Professor Mohibul Hasan: It is a detailed book on the medieval history of Kashmir and discusses at length the rule of Shah Miri Sultans of Kashmir who ruled Kashmir from 1339 up to 1560. The Chak rulers have also been discussed by the author.

9. *Jammu and Kashmir State* by Pandit Anand Kaul: It is a short and a sketchy book on Kashmir describing mainly the political history of the state.

10. *History of India as told by its own Historians* by Elliot and Dowson, Vols. 5 and 6: These volumes provide some material on the history of Kashmir which can prove helpful to a scholar who is interested in the history of Kashmir.

11. Information on the history of Kashmir from 1600 A.D. to 1800 A.D. can also be got from the *Cambridge History of India* edited by Sir Wolsley Haig as well as from the relevant Imperial Gazetteer of India.

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THE MUGHAL RULE in Kashmir was established about the close of the sixteenth century A.D. No doubt this beautiful country had attracted the attention of the Mughals much earlier, but it was Akbar who annexed the valley through his two able commanders, Syed Mohammad Yusuf Rizvi and Qasim Khan Mir Bahri whose name is still alive in Kashmir in the shape of 'Mir Bahri'—a vast area in the Dal Lake. From that period onward the Mughal rule in Kashmir began. The exact year of Akbar's annexation of Kashmir, according to the chroniclers, is A.H. 994, corresponding with 1586 A.D. Faizi, the court poet of Akbar and elder brother of Shaikh Abul Fazal Allami, has celebrated this victory of Akbar in Kashmir by his famous *Kasida*, which is given in full in the *Akbarnama* or the Book of Akbar.

No doubt forty years earlier Kashmir was conquered by Mirza Haider Daughlat, the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, but it was entirely a passing phase. It, however, paved the way for other incursions into Kashmir, the most lasting and permanent of which was the establishment of Mughal rule in the country. It lasted for about 200 years. We are fortunate enough to have a complete record of Kashmir history during this period.

The first and foremost manuscript in this regard is *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* by Hassan Beg Khaki Shirazi. The most part of his life was spent in Kashmir, but he died at Patna in A.H. 1051. According to Dr. Sufi the book was written in

A.H. 1019 in the reign of Mughal Emperor Jahangir. This is a very important work relating to the Chaks and the early Mughal rulers of Kashmir. Besides one copy in the collection of M. Bhubar, C/o Aryana, Ibn Sina Street, Kabul, a defective copy is preserved in the Mss. Section of the Research and Publication Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar, Kashmir.

Another source material of Kashmir history for the above period is *Tarikh-i-Sayyid Ali*. This is also preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar. The book is very highly spoken of by Pir Ghulam Hasan Khoihami, the author of the celebrated *Tarikh-i-Hassan* in four volumes. According to Dr. Sufi, one copy of the same was in the possession of Late Mufti Mohammad Shah Salat of Nowhatta, Srinagar.

Baharistan-i-Shahi is another source of Kashmir's history during the Mughal period. The work is by an anonymous hand and comes down to A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614). It begins without any introduction, but is very important for both the Mughal and the pre-Mughal periods of Kashmir history. A transcription of the same from the microfilm copy acquired from India Office, London, is preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir of Malik Haider is another important source material. The manuscript preserved in the Research Department contains the history of Kashmir only and goes up to A.H. 1030 = A.D. 1621 or in other words up to the 12th year of Jahangir's reign.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Narain Kaul Aziz is another history of importance. It was composed in A.H. 1122 or A.D. 1720. Some copies complete and incomplete of the same are preserved in the Mss. Section of the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Kaul Aziz is highly spoken of by Rue in his Catalogue of the Persian Mss.

Wakiat-i-Kashmir is another source of Kashmir history for the aforesaid period by Khwaja Muhammad Azam Didamarri. The work was begun in A.H. 1148 (A.D. 1735) and completed in A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1747), and dedicated to the Emperor Muhammad Shah. The chief object of the compiler was to

supply especially biographical notes and extracts from the writings of the principal Shaikhs and Ulemas and poets of Kashmir, which were entirely wanting in works previously written on Kashmir, and being more or less translations from the old Hindu work, *Rajatarangini*.

Baghi-i-Sulaiman is another source of Kashmir history for the period. It is a versified history of Kashmir, from the earliest times down to A.H. 1202 = A.D. 1788. The work is very authentic for the later Mughals of Kashmir as it was composed in Juma Khan's reign, the Afghan Subedar of Kashmir. The author of the work is Mir Sadulla of Shahabad. Besides the political history of Kashmir, the work is an authentic record of Kashmir's saints and their sayings. Four defective copies of the same are preserved in the Mss. Library of the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.

Majmu'-al Tawarikh by Birbal Kacheroo is another source of later Mughal history in Kashmir. It was compiled in A.H. 1262 = A.D. 1846, and is carried from the earliest times to the end of the last ruler of the Punjab Sikhs in Kashmir. Various Mss. of the work are preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Kashmir. Besides the political history of Kashmir, it is an ample record of Kashmir Springs sacred to the Brahmins of this country.

Khulasat-al-Tawarikh by Mirza Saif-ud-Din is another source of Kashmir history for the Mughal period. It was compiled in 1862 and is authentic like the above three works. One copy of the work is preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar.

Wajiz-al-Tawarikh is another work of note, and is a great source for later Mughal period in Kashmir. It was composed in A.H. 1274 = A.D. 1857 by Mulla Abdul Nabi. Another work, though written at the close of nineteenth century A.D., *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Mulla Khalil Mirjanpuri, deserves mention. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* in four volumes and *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, may also be considered as source material of Kashmir history during the Mughal period.

We cannot ignore as source material for Kashmir's history during the Mughal period the following works which were

written by non-Kashmiris and whose Mss. are preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar. These are *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Haider Dughlat. This work, although a special history of Jataj and Kashghar, is also a brief account of Kashmir. During the last stage of the work, the author was in Kashmir. A copy is preserved in the Mss. Section of the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is the detailed memoirs of the author himself, which form the longest and the most important part of the work. The second Daftar of the work begins with Mirza Haider's birth and goes down to the 8th Rabir A.H. 948 (A.D. 1541), that is to the battle by which Mirza Haider became ruler of Kashmir.

Tarikh-i-Ferishta and *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh*, respectively by Mohammad Qasim Ferishta and Munshi Sujana Rai of Batala, are also important source material of Kashmir history during the Mughal period. Various excellent Mss. of these two works are preserved in the Mss. Library of the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar.

Besides these historical works, there are other sources of Kashmir's history in the Mughal period. These are *Fubfat-ul-Fukra* by Mulla Mohammad Murad Teng, *Khawariq-al-Salikeen*, *Tazkirah* of Mulla Ali Raina, *Fathal-i-Kubrawiyyab*, *Khamsa* of Mulla Baba-ul-Din Matto, and *Tazkerab Hadrat-i-Qadiriyya*. Although the works are of a biographical nature, they throw a good deal of light on the social and economic conditions of Kashmir. The Mss. of all these works are preserved in the Research Department.

Finally may be noted the great number of Mothnawis and long poems produced in Kashmir. These also throw much light on the Kashmir history during the Mughal period. Among these poems we can refer to the Haftmoth-nawis by seven poets who flourished in Kashmir in Mughal time. Although these poems contain mostly descriptions of the beautiful spots of Kashmir, there is much to interest the historians as well.

Modern Period

SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR (SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

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Introduction

AN ATTEMPT to review the sources of Kashmir history during the latter half of the nineteenth century ought to be prefaced by an explanation of the method of periodisation followed in this article. If severely restricted to the fifty years of the second half, the history of Kashmir would inevitably suffer from a lack of unity. In other words, neither 1850 nor 1900 has any special significance in our history. Properly speaking, the modern history of Kashmir starts from 1846,—the year in which the State of Jammu and Kashmir was created as a result of a treaty—the treaty of Amritsar—concluded between the British-Indian Government and Gulab Singh of the Lahore Durbar. Though not a historical climacteric, 1905, rather than 1900, is likewise an important date, and in more than one sense at that. Gulab's grandson, Pratap Singh, who had earlier been superseded by a Council in the supposed interest of internal reforms, was partially restored to power as the ruler of the State in 1905. These reforms, designed to initiate a change both in the status and administration of Kashmir as a native state, were introduced at the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1885 and pushed through in the course of the next two decades. Ostensibly, the object was to transform Kashmir from a medieval into a modern state.

Nature of the source-material in general :

There is no lack of original material for the construction of the history of Kashmir during the period under review. One may perhaps say it is legion. The most extensive source-material is in English, and as desired by the Director of the Institute, this paper deals with the English sources mainly. Source-materials in other languages have been referred to rather casually. In order of Priority, Persian sources come next, as the materials in Urdu and Dogri are comparatively much less : indeed they are few and far between. The greater bulk of this huge material is of course in the shape of correspondence, but there also exists a large quantity of other types, such as Notes, Minutes and Memoranda, Diaries, Pamphlets, Speeches and Telegrams. Important Persian, Urdu, and Dogri materials, if journals be excepted, are histories written by contemporaries. At the beginning of the period, we have the sources mostly in the form of manuscripts, but with the lapse of time unpublished printed material becomes the vogue.

Classification :

Sources of Kashmir history, whether in this country or in England, admit broadly speaking of a two-fold classification : first, unpublished original sources, which are the special preserve of British and Indian Record Offices ; and secondly, original (but) published sources that lie scattered in different repositories. This is true of source-material not only in English, but also in Persian and other languages. From this, one may proceed to further classify the sources under a number of heads.

(A) Private Papers :

Of this category there are more than twenty in the British Record Offices and New Delhi Archives. It is not possible to give a whole list of these papers within the limited space of a seminar paper. In fine, all the Governors-General from Hardinge to Curzon had left their own collections. Some of these

are small, some big ; especially the Lytton, Ripon, Dufferin, Lansdowne and Curzon Collections are extensive. Of the Secretaries of State, Lord Cross left a fine collection that enriches the India Office Library, now called the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, in London. It is noteworthy that of the papers of the Governors-General who ruled India during our period, all except the Hardinge Collection are available in the British Isles, some of them on microfilm. The originals of the Hardinge Papers are in the Library of McGill University in Montreal, Canada, but are also available to research scholars at the New Delhi Archives on microfilm. Of the other papers the following should be particularly mentioned :

- Ardagh Papers : Correspondence and papers of Sir John Ardagh, Private Secretary to Lords Lansdowne and Elgin, 1888-94, The Public Record Office, London ;
- Henry Lawrence Papers : Correspondence and papers of Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, Resident at Lahore, 1847, and later Agent of the Governor-General and President of the Board of Administration of the Punjab, The Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London ;
- Lee-Warner Papers : Papers of Sir William Lee-Warner, Indian Civil Service (1809-1895), Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office (1895-1903), The Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London ; and above all,
- Roberts Papers : Correspondence and papers of Sir (afterwards Lord) Frederick Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of India, 1885-93, in the possession of the Army Museums Ogilby Trust, London.

(B) *Official Papers :*

Official papers of different categories are being preserved in British and Indian Record Offices. I have had the opportunity of going through the files at the National Archives in New Delhi and the British Record Offices in London. Besides, there is very valuable material in the Kashmir State Archives in

Srinagar. To dilate at length on every variety of material would be a tedious job. I shall therefore briefly name them here and later proceed to make a few personal observations.

Of the English records available in the British Isles, the greater bulk is in the Commonwealth Relations Office Library in London. Similar types of material are also there in the British Museum and Public Record Office in London, the Scottish Record Office at Edinburgh, and several other repositories.

Political and Secret Department Records :

Files of the Political and Secret Department which are preserved in the C.R.O. in London have been variously listed. When we were students, by far the most important of these records were a special group called the Indian States Papers. Confidential files on the Indian States, which were sent by the Government of India and were received in the Political and Secret Department between 1880 and 1902, were separated from others and treated as a special preserve. Research students were not permitted to consult them till 1960. There were various practical difficulties in obtaining these papers, but the author of the present article was able, with the assistance of the officers of the C.R.O. Library, to consult all the relevant papers of Kashmir in 1961-62. Some time ago the Library authorities decided to put back these papers to their respective places in the original volumes (such as those of Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures from India), and I believe they are now far more easily available to research scholars. It requires little imagination to appreciate that these records are absolutely indispensable for any research in the modern history of Kashmir.

Other Political and/or Secret Department Papers bearing upon Kashmir and available at the India Office Library are :

- (a) Secret and Political Letters from Bengal and India, 1846-55, vols. 13-16 ;
- (b) Enclosures to Secret Letters received from India, 1846-60, vols. 103-73 ; continued as
- (c) Enclosures to Secret Letters from Madras and India, 1861-65, vol. 176 ;

- (d) Secret Letters and Enclosures from India and Madras, 1866-68, vols. 1-3 ; continued as
- (e) Secret Letters and Enclosures from India, 1869-74, vols. 4-19 ; continued as
- (f) Political and Secret Letters and Enclosures from India, 1875-95, vol. 1-83 ;
- (g) Collections to India Political Despatches, select volumes. This series mostly contains important enclosures from the Government of India which were separated from the India letters, and formed the basis of replies by the Home Government to the Government of India. Presumably, they were preserved separately for quick reference and formulation of answers by the India Office.
- (h) Political and Secret Home Correspondence, 1885-95, vols. 69-162. These are mainly the correspondence between the I.O. and F.O. relative to Indian affairs. Necessarily, letters, notes and telegrams from the Government of India form the enclosures to such letters, notes from the F.O. are also there. Important F.O. papers, though not enclosed in this series, can be easily traced with the help of cross references to such papers in this series.
- (i) Political and Secret Demi-official Correspondence : First Series, vols. 1-7. These volumes contain d/o letters received in the Political and Secret Department with Minutes, Memoranda, Drafts and copies of letters sent. Second Series, vols. 1-4. These volumes contain copies of d/o letters sent out by the Political and Secret Department, and also copies of Minutes and Memoranda.
- (j) Political and Secret Memoranda, concerning Afghanistan, North-West and Northern frontiers (A Series) ; Central Asia (B Series) ; and Native States (D Series).
- (k) Political Letters to India, 1846-58, vols. 11-23.
- (l) Political Despatches to India, 1858-74, vols. 1-17.
- (m) Political and Secret Despatches to India, 1875-95, vols.

1-21. This series contains Minutes and Notes written at the India Office on letters received from the Government of India, and trace the preparation of despatches to India in their different stages including the final drafts which were eventually sent.

- (n) Political and Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1846-74, vols. 1-5.

Foreign Proceedings :

Next in importance to the Political and Secret Department papers are the Foreign Proceedings. As shown in the following classification two varieties are of particular help to us.

- (a) India Political and Foreign Proceedings Select volumes of 1846 (Range 197), 1847 (Range 197-98), 1848 (Range 198), 1851 (Range 199), and 1852 (Range 200), continued as, India Foreign Proceedings, divided into (i) Political, (ii) General, (iii) Frontier, (iv) External, and (v) Internal. Duplicate copies of these papers are also available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

- (b) Punjab Foreign Proceedings

Some material from the B series may be found useful. This is possible where somewhat detailed summaries are given.

Foreign Office Papers :

These are at the Public Office in London, and may be utilised profitably with the help of cross-references obtained from Political and Secret Home Correspondence in the C.R.O. Particularly, F.O. 65 series would be extremely helpful to intending researchers.

War Office Records :

They effectively supplement the F.O. series. The following are useful for our purpose.

W. O. 32/

218. Mobilisation arrangements, etc.

263. N.W. Frontier, etc.

264. Afghan Defence, etc.

W. O. 33/

46. N.W. Frontier Defence.

49. Central Asia.

Similar other papers should be looked into.

National Archives of India :

Records available at the National Archives are the Foreign Department papers which have been variously described as Secret, Political, Frontier, General and Miscellaneous. These include Despatches, Minutes and Memoranda, Maps, Notes and Observations, and occasionally statistical data. Comments by the Departmental Officials, occasionally even of the Governor-General's, are also there. These are called keep-withs or K.Ws. Needless to say, these records are indispensable for research in the modern history of Kashmir.

Evidently, the official papers, just described, constitute a huge mass. They provide the material for the main structure of Kashmir history during our period. The system of classification obtaining in the Indian Archives differs from that in the English Record Offices, but broadly speaking they are the same material, more or less. I may draw the attention of research students to a special series in the National Archives of India, the Secret E series of the Foreign Department Proceedings, which were never sent to the Home Government except occasionally as enclosures to the Governor-General's despatches. These, like some of the papers mentioned above, would be essential for writing the history of Kashmir during our period.

Printed Published Sources :

Here again we have two broad categories as shown below. These materials are usually available in bound volumes and may be consulted in Record Offices, big public libraries and some of

the old Universities.

(A) Official :

Parliamentary Papers, Parliamentary Debates, India Government Records, Selections from the Punjab Government Records, Punjab Administration Reports, and other published source of an official character, such as Treaties, Reports, Memoranda, etc.

(B) Non-Official :

Pamphlets, Diaries, Travel Accounts, etc. Contemporary histories written both in English and Persian also come under this category.

Newspapers and Periodicals :

These are yet another kind of printed material which should be considered very important for constructing the history of Kashmir during the period under review. They should therefore be looked into rather carefully. Of special value for our purpose are :

Amrita Bazar Patrika, Civil and Military Gazette, Englishman, Friend of India, Pioneer, Hindoo Patriot, and The Times, London.

Periodicals available in British and Indian libraries are likewise of immense importance. The following in the English language are specially recommended :

Asiatic Quarterly Review, Central Asian Review, Central Asiatic Journal, Journal of Asian Studies, and Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society.

Of the periodicals in Indian languages I shall particularly refer to :

(a) *The Khair-Khwah-i-Kashmir*, Urdu weekly published from Lahore and edited by Pundit Hargopal Kaul Khasta during 1882-83. Critical of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's regime, Khasta was exiled by the Maharaja.

(b) *The Akhbar-i-Am*, Lahore, Urdu weekly, established in 1881 by Pundit Mukand Ram Gurtu, and subsequently edited by his son Pundit Gopi Nath. Later on, it was

converted into a daily. It stopped publication in the thirties of the present century.

- (c) *The Kashmir Darpan*, Allahabad. It was a bi-lingual monthly magazine in Urdu and Hindi, edited by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, 1898-1904.
- (d) *The Hamdard-i-Hind*, Lahore. An anti-Pratap journal edited by Pundit Sarab Dyal during 1894. It condemned Maharaja Pratap Singh and supported the rival party and the Council which superseded Pratap.

Extent and Dependability :

It is clear from the above discussion that source-material in English is by far the most extensive, particularly the official papers, both unpublished and published. Materials in Indian languages, whether here or in England, are comparatively much less. In the absence of any other comparable bulk of source-material for our history we have to depend upon the official versions of it, notwithstanding that the lesser officials concerned with affairs in Kashmir, such as Agents and Residents, were oftener than not prejudiced against the local rulers and invariably suffered from a craze for power. Willynilly, their reports were often coloured by their personal bias and gave highly exaggerated accounts of events that occurred. Such material therefore has to be carefully compared with other sources for an objective history of Kashmir. For this purpose, i.e., checking official accounts, Private Papers and non-official published sources, as also Newspapers and Journals, all referred to above, would be extremely helpful.

Utilisation :

If source-materials for the modern history of Kashmir are many and varied, it is unfortunate that research works on the subject are practically negligible. Not that secondary works are not there ; on the contrary, there is quite a number of such accounts. But these are either contemporary histories, or travel accounts, or the like,—not indeed research publications. The

only research works of merit on our period which have so far been published are two : K. M. Panikkar's *Gulab Singh or The Founding of the Kashmir State*, and J. G. Alder's *British India's Northern Frontier, 1865-1895*. The main authority on which Panikkar's life of Gulab Singh is based is the contemporary account entitled *Gulabnama*, written in Persian by Dewan Kirpa Ram, the Maharaja's Private Secretary. Though written in the flowery style of the Persian panegyrists, *Gulabnama* is nonetheless a remarkable historical document, as Kirpa Ram included in it many original records which were not available elsewhere. Panikkar also drew upon contemporary histories written by Englishmen who took part in the Punjab politics of the time. But if he had consulted the State Archives material in Srinagar, the value of his work would have still further increased. Alder's book is based upon source-materials I have analysed above. It is a dependable work, but being on the northern frontiers it includes areas outside Kashmir. In other words, Kashmir history has been dealt with from 1865 to 1895 rather briefly. It covers only sixty pages,—approximately 1/6th of the entire volume.

Two other works, though in the nature of general summaries, are also somewhat based upon original source-materials. They are P. N. K. Bamzai's *A History of Kashmir*, and G. M. D. Sufi's *Kashmir* in two volumes. Bamzai has enriched his work by utilising the Kashmir Government Records from the State Archives, while Sufi has considerably borrowed from Persian and Urdu manuscripts like *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* by Dewan Kirpa Ram and *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Munshi Muhammad-ud-din, Fauj, and also Administration, Census and Royal Commission Reports. These are commendable works, but still of the nature of general texts and therefore leave the scope for more intensive and critical studies. I shall crave the indulgence of my readers to refer to two London theses, still unpublished but very much on our period. The first, by S. S. Bal of Chandigarh, whose work bears upon the Punjab mainly, but also includes occasional references to Kashmir. The second, by the present writer, deals with Kashmir exclusively and covers more or less the period between 1846 and 1905. It is now awaiting publication under

the title *Cashmere in Transition*, and some of it has been published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta.

Problem of using the source-material :

To conform to the pattern laid down by the Director of the Institute for the seminar papers, I shall conclude by briefly referring to the likely problems in handling the source-materials of Kashmir history. Frankly, there is none which may be considered insuperable or even difficult. Of course, when we were students Kashmir records were a forbidden fruit, and no one could pluck it. For reasons best known to the New Delhi Foreign Office, Kashmir records were closed to research workers about the year 1956. For more than ten years they were in that state, but in the last autumn they were again opened to readers and are now available without restrictions up to 1913. This, I hope, would facilitate intensive research in the modern period of the history of Kashmir, and before long we shall have useful publications in this important field of study. But an intending researcher, to be absolutely thorough, should learn the Persian, Urdu and Dogri languages. This is of course quite a job, but certainly worth attempting. Finally, a word of caution for the unwary. As already indicated, official records or official histories on Kashmir are not always above reproach. A critical scholar has therefore to be well on his guard, and whenever doubts occur he should check official accounts with other materials which indeed are available in plenty.

KASHMIR ARCHIVES

FIDA MOHAMMAD HASSNAIN

(Director of State Archives, Srinagar)

THERE ARE three Archival Repositories, at Leh, Jammu and Srinagar, which house records of the Government. The earliest document is dated 1724 A.D. but we do not have continued series up to 1847. It may be mentioned at the outset that we do not possess any official records, except a few stray documents, about the Mughals, the Afghans and the Sikhs who became our rulers after the fall of Yakub Shah Chak.

Most of these records are in the shape of files and of registers known as "Kitab Navisi Registers". They are in Persian, Urdu and English.

Whereas the British wanted to have a ring of buffer states around their much prized Indian dominion, they created the Jammu and Kashmir State by the sale of Kashmir to the Dogra Raja of Jammu by the Treaty of Amritsar, 1846. They also helped Gulab Singh in crushing the revolt of the Kashmiris. The creation of the Kashmir State is to be seen in the context of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia and the lengthening of the Russian shadow towards the north western frontiers of India. The Dogra rulers of Kashmir established their Records Repository at Jammu. These records went on gathering in volume and at present the majority of our records are housed in the State Archives Repository at Jammu.

The administration of Kashmir and Ladakh gave rise to the establishment of small departmental record rooms there as well as creation of more and more records. The result had been, the eventual creation of separate Archival Repositories at Srinagar and Leh. Hence at present we have our records preserved in the

three Repositories at Jammu, Srinagar and Leh. The records at Leh deal with the administration of the frontier illaqs, land revenue, trade with Central Asian Chiefships and Tibet and activities of the Moravian Mission and the British Joint Commissioners appointed to look after the British interests beyond the frontiers. The records at Srinagar are mostly provincial records. The records at Jammu are mainly records of the Chief Minister and his secretariat previously known as 'Daftar Diwani' and 'Saddar Daftar'. Besides these, Army Records and Political Department Records are also housed at Jammu. Settlement and Revenue records are housed in the Revenue and Settlement Record Rooms at Srinagar and Jammu and these are under the administrative control of the Revenue authorities.

Taken together we have preserved the following items of records and documents :

- (i) Individual documents in Turkish, Tibetan, Dogri, etc.
- (ii) Persian records, 1724 to 1892.
- (iii) Kitab Navisi Registers (Persian), 1847 to 1927.
- (iv) Old (English) records, 1868 to 1921.
- (v) Private records of Maharaja Pratap Singh, 1885 to 1924.
- (vi) State Department records (English), 1885 to 1924.
- (vii) Vernacular records, 1889 to 1921.
- (viii) Secretariat records, 1889 to 1965.
- (ix) Council Proceedings, 1922 to 1926.
- (x) Military Records, 1922 to 1943.
- (xi) His Highness orders, 1926 to 1943.
- (xii) Council and Cabinet order, 1943 to 1965.
- (xiii) Departmental Records, 1947 to 1965.

The State Archives Repositories at Jammu and Srinagar maintain two reference Libraries for use of administrators as well as research scholars. These Libraries house books on law, history, administration and other subjects. Besides these, all official reports and publications of the Government have also been collected. Reference books include all books published about Kashmir so far. Besides the above, the following are preserved for the use of scholars.

1. Administration Reports, 1872 to 1965.
2. Jammu and Kashmir Gazette, 1889 to 1965.
3. Panjab Gazette, 1925 to 1934.
4. India Gazette, 1925 to 1955.
5. Census of India, 1891 to 1965.
6. Jammu and Kashmir Civil and Military Lists, 1893 to 1942.
7. Jammu and Kashmir Budgets, 1893 to 1967.
8. Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha Debates, 1934 to 1946.

The State Archives have organised a repository of maps at Srinagar. More than a thousand maps, handmade as well as printed, have been preserved in the Archives Repository at Srinagar. The Department has a manuscript library of its own, which houses old and rare manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Kashmiri. These manuscripts deal with history, religion, literature and culture.

Persian records include some of the most rare and precious ones from the point of view of political and administrative history of the State. Regular series of Persian records pertaining to the Jammu and Kashmir start from 1847, but certain stray documents of the earlier period have found their way into the Kashmir archives. Some of these are :

- (a) Pattas granted to Raja Drup Dev of Jammu and Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu by the Mughal Emperors, Mohamad Shah (1719-1748) and Shah Alam Sani (1760-1806).
- (b) Patta regarding continuance of the payment of Zakat by Tibetan and Kashmiri traders and fixation of import of shawl wool by them.

As is well known, Kashmir is famous for its shawls, and the finest shawls in the world are synonymous with the name of Kashmir. But it is curious that she has always imported the fleece derived from Asian species of mountain goats of Tibet and Central Asia. It was imported through the Treaty Road, which served as a means of commercial-cum-political penetration into Central Asia for the British. The appointment of various British

- Joint Commissioners for this road and the mission of Douglas Forsyth testify to the importance of this route.
- (c) Treaty concluded with Lhasa by Wazir Hari Chand and Ratnu in 1842 is of special interest to scholars who are interested in the investigation of our national boundaries.

Persian records of post-1847 period are very important source material for the administration of the two Dogra Rulers, Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh (1816 to 1885). These throw abundant light on the creation of the Jammu and Kashmir State and subsequent suppression of the revolt of the Kashmiris. The British having sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar (1846), also helped him with military aid in occupying the territory and in suppressing the hilly chiefs of Uri, Muzaffarabad and Karnah.

Vernacular records and State Department records throw much light on the British policy in Kashmir. Ranbir Singh was encouraged by the British to subdue Baltistan, Gilgit and Chitral. Having subdued and brought under his sway the whole of Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit region, he tried to penetrate into Yarkhand. The British then came forward and put a stop to this policy. They wanted to post their own political agents in Srinagar, Gilgit and Leh. There is abundant material in our archives on the diplomacy of the British 'Forward School' on the north western frontiers. The British encouraged Ranbir Singh to spy on the Russians, for which the first Russian school was established at Srinagar and spies were sent into Russian territories.

The Private records of Pratap Singh show his miserable life due to the British intrigues in which his own brother Amar Singh was involved. The result was that the Maharaja was dethroned and the administration passed into the hands of the British Resident in Kashmir. It was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which came to the rescue of the Maharaja and its editor exposed the secrets of the British policy which led to the debate in the British Parliament and publication of the famous 'Condemned Unheard'.

Political records tell us about the administrative reforms introduced by the British Residents in Kashmir and works of

public utility done by them. As Kashmir had acquired importance in the context of the Anglo-Russian strategy in Asia, the British constructed roads from Kohala to Srinagar and Srinagar to Gilgit for military purposes. A British Agency was established at Gilgit.

The records about Gilgit and Chitral are very important. Gilgit became an important point in the defence of the British empire. It was from this place that affairs beyond the frontiers were investigated. It served the British in their venture to pressurise Afghanistan. It became a base for their expeditions to Chaprut and Chalt. The State assisted the British in their political missions to Central Asia by Col. Lockhart and Mortimer Durand, renowned for the Durand line. The above facts are borne out by numerous files in the State Archives.

Political records in the State Archives and C.I.D. diaries are full of details about the history of Kashmiri freedom movement.

In order to encourage research, the Government has framed Historical Research Rules, by which all pre-1925 records have been thrown open to bonafide research scholars. Besides this, search cases are being conducted and information is given to research institutions. In order to facilitate finding of documents, most of the records have been indexed up to 1950 and twenty-five Index Volumes are available for consultation. Up till now, only a few scholars have consulted these records. Some of the subjects on which researches have been conducted are :

- (i) Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-1857).
- (ii) Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885).
- (iii) British Policy towards Kashmir (1846-1921).
- (iv) Constitutional Development in Kashmir (1857-1957).
- (v) Freedom Struggle in Kashmir (1931 to 1947).
- (vi) Development of Education in Kashmir.

With the establishment of the Post-graduate department of History in the Kashmir University, more and more scholars are coming forward for consultation of records. Besides the Kashmir University, the Punjab University and the Delhi University have deputed their students for research to the

Kashmir Archives. Still, I feel that there is a vast scope for further research into the Kashmir archives. Very good work can be done on Ladakh and Baltistan. None has consulted or done any work on 'Kitab-nawisi' registers, which deal with the day-to-day administration of Ranbir Singh (1857-1885).

It is gratifying to note that the Government is keen to reorganise the State Archives on the lines of the National Archives of India. What is particularly needed is the centralisation of all records repositories, which would remove the present difficulty of a scholar having to consult records in the three provincial repositories at Leh, Jammu and Srinagar.

